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Trends and Events

Edited by Dorrance S. White

THAT OMAHA LATIN CLUB

IT IS ONE THING for a Latin Club activity to win the attention and applause of a school or local community; it is quite another for an organization to do something so well that news of it is spread over several states. The Latin Club of Omaha's Central High School has done just that. Sponsored by the departmental head, Miss Bernice Engle, the Club has really put the study of Latin in a prominent place in midwest news. During Latin Week last April members of this hustling Club put stickers and posters everywhere heralding the good time that was approaching, then staged a successful Roman wedding, to which students and teachers from the numerous high schools of the city were invited. "In addition to the twenty members of the cast, four singers and two flute-players lent atmosphere to the ceremony," the president of the Club, Myra Abramson, wrote in. The editor regrets that he hasn't room to publish the photo of these fine-looking club members.

One reflects that, while there are proportionately fewer high school pupils studying Latin today, their enthusiasm for the subject, judged by the activity displayed in Latin Weeks and in Latin Clubs, is greater than ever before. Incidentally, if the editor were a school executive, looking about for strong talent in his Latin department, he would cast about to see what Latin teachers were doing during Latin Week.

GOOD ENGLISH

THERE SEEMS to be a definite trend today to raise the question, What is good English? The cause of this trend might arouse varying speculation. Some might conclude that it is a natural concomitant of our advancing (?) civilization, built around a desire to keep our medium of expressing ideas apace with the advance of science and economics. Others might reasonably insist, we think, that the elimination of Latin study and other language study from so many school curricula has left a lot of pupils with no other basis for determining accurate grammatical usage than the often defective English heard in the home. Still others might add that not only is not enough Latin study provided, but what is provided is vitiated by the unwholesome practice of

over-emphasizing translation and reading Latin as Latin at the expense of attention to grammatical principles.

It is the opinion of this editor that the study of English in the schools and colleges has struck a new low. We say this despite the fact that a study conducted by Dora V. Smith and reported in the *English Journal* (xxvii, 1938, pp. 647-648) stated that "More time is being spent in the high school English classes of America today upon grammar and usage than upon any other single phase of instruction." And in twelve years we have tobogganed that fast!

We are convinced, by nearly a half century of teaching, that the elimination of language study, the lighter emphasis on grammar in Latin teaching, the shrinking from drill in grammar by English teachers, the abominable use of English heard over the radio and in movie theatres, as well as that awful stuff read in comic strips, have all contributed to the slovenly English heard in the school and college classroom.

A Cornell University professor of English has expressed the opinion that any English that clearly conveys the idea is good enough. So he declares that "It is me" satisfies him and should satisfy everybody else. With that theory we definitely disagree and we felt like calling upon every Latin teacher in school and college to combat that false theory and revive, so far as is feasible, that quondam vigor in teaching the fundamentals of Latin and English grammar.

MYTHOLOGY IN PRINTS

THERE SEEMS to be a trend nowadays to show our Latin students, school or college, how the great works of classical literature have functioned in modern literature and art, that they may read with greater appreciation and enjoyment. To that end we have recently purchased a set of 24 plates, containing 50 scenes from classical mythology, reproduced by offset lithography from early editions of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Each plate contains a short version of some story such as that of Daphne, Phaëthon, Europa, Thisbe, Proserpina, Orpheus and Eurydice.

Briefly, the prints reproduced are woodcuts, etchings on copper, or line engravings on the same metal. They range in date from 1497 to 1824. Various uses may be made of them: bulletin-board exhibits by school and college teachers of English, ancient history, art, as well as Latin and Greek, project work for notebooks, etc.

CJ readers interested in these prints should

send orders direct to Mrs. L. M. Prindle (widow of the late Professor Prindle), 380 Maple Street, Burlington, Vermont. They will be sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.50 per set.

THE BIASED SCHOOL ADVISOR

THE EDITOR knows several college teachers of the classics who advocate a "hands off" policy when it comes to the enrollment of Latin students in school and college in early Fall. Their argument is, "If they want it, let them come and get it."

We doubt if such college men have seen a school advisor system in action. Many high school teachers will testify to the deliberate activities of office advisors who steer promising student material away from Latin classes.

A boy or girl of thirteen is quite unprepared to judge the worth of a high school subject. Consequently, an office advisor, devotee of the so-called practical subjects, can easily divert a pupil from any elective subject as he pleases. Thus are lost many young minds whose aptitudes for language study would make Latin an enjoyable and profitable elective subject.

Teachers who have had experience with the enterprise have assured the editor that remarks made before eighth-grade pupils by upper classmen, who have definitely good impressions of their Latin study, have a most beneficial effect upon the September and January enrollments. This activity, in lieu of a Latin teacher sitting as office advisor, will help nullify the indifference of the modern parent who, inexperienced in Latin, blows neither hot nor cold.

COLLEGE ENGLISH AND LANGUAGE REQUIREMENT

A NEW FOREIGN LANGUAGE requirement has been inaugurated at the University of Iowa. Instead of 8 semester hours of foreign language, all students majoring in English will be required on or after 1952 to complete 14 hours. The new requirement is "designed to give the student more sound background in foreign languages." It was

the hope of university officials that in this change "foreign languages will become a real knowledge to the student, not a technical requirement."

What conclusion may we draw from this new requirement, apart from its relation to the University of Iowa? Have high school superintendents been squeezing out language study from the schools? Does a lack of language study have a deleterious effect upon the work done in the early college English courses? Don't answer those questions; they are too easy.

SALVETE, CLARI MAGISTRI!

May I drop the conventional editorial style for a space and render tribute to two faithful classical scholars who, in their retirement, can look back upon years of fruitful work in the field of Classics?

A *salve!* then to Professor Fred A. Knapp, teacher par excellence, whose mind is still so active, whose conversation is still so animated, whose reminiscences of large college Latin classes are so weighted with sighs of regret and gentle rebukes for present scholastic trends, my own gracious instructor, at a time when Bates was neither old nor young:

iam senior; sed cruda deo viridisque senectus whom Cicero would characterize as *quanta in omnibus rebus temperantia, fide, benignitate, ingenio, humanitate*. And may many more years be added in joyous work and pleasant meditation!

And a *salve!* to you, Professor Wilbert L. Carr, whose abounding wit and humor are tempered by a rich and sober scholarship, who have enlivened many a dull panel discussion and business meeting with gay repartee, who have never let a lagging enrollment dampen your optimism, who believe that scholarship in the classroom without animation and hard work is dead, again hail! rugged leader of Latin teachers! And let those many Latinists who should have been retired in their forties try to keep up with you who have passed your three score years and ten!

LATIN SCHOLARSHIP

Rockford College is offering a departmental scholarship in Latin of \$900 (\$450 for two years). Candidates must have had two or more years of Latin in high school and will write an examination testing particularly ability to read Latin. For further information applicants are requested to write to the Director of Admission, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois. Applications must be filed by February 1, 1951.

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Cicero's Contribution to the Text of the Twelve Tables

P. R. Coleman-Norton

The Princeton scholar will conclude next month with such matters as justifiable and involuntary homicide, laws directed at individuals, right of appeal, where bodies may be buried or burned (a fire-hazard) and limitations on funeral expenditures and mourning—not to mention a prohibition against stealing a neighbor's crop by magic.

I
IT WAS NOT UNTIL three score years had elapsed after the inauguration of republican institutions in Rome (509) that plebeian struggle secured the publication of the customary law in the form of a code (449), known to us under two titles: *LEX DVODECIM TABVLARVM* and *DVODECIM TABVLAE*.¹ With this codification begins properly the history of Roman Law, since in this code are collected the earliest known laws of the Romans and because in these laws lies the foundation of the entire fabric of Roman Law.² Moreover, the political as well as the social importance of this promulgation is seen in the fact that by its proclamation was substituted for an unwritten usage, of which the knowledge had been confined chiefly to the patrician citizens of the community, a written body of laws, which were easily accessible to and strictly binding on all citizens of Rome.

While the Roman tradition is overcast with obscurities and is laden with legends,

yet the account appears to establish this evidence: two successive commissions of *decemviri legibus scribundis* began the compilation of the laws in 451 and concluded this codification in 450; ratification of Tables I-X and XI-XII was made by the *comitia centuriata* in 451 and in 449 respectively; promulgation of the whole code occurred in 449. Henceforward every Roman of high or low degree could know what were both his legal rights and his legal duties.

This celebrated code was engraved on twelve bronze³ tablets (whence the name Twelve Tables), which were attached to the Rostra before the Curia in the Forum. Although it is believed that this important witness of the national progress probably was destroyed during the Gallic occupation of Rome in 390 (or 387), nevertheless it is clear that copies or other substitutes survived, since Cicero (106-43) tells us that in his boyhood schoolboys committed to memory these laws "as a required formula."⁴ At any rate

today we have not any part of the Twelve Tables either in its original form or in its transcripts. However, some six score fragments of the code are found in the writings of ancient authors, among whom Cicero, one of the world's greatest trial lawyers, not inappropriately stands in the highest rank.⁵

It is only in very few instances that we know or can conjecture confidently which fragment belongs in which table. Consequently of the arrangement very little is ascertainable and the attribution of some items to certain tablets is debatable.⁶ The amount of detail apparently varies either with the importance of the matter or with the degree of general or particular knowledge of the subject supposed by the commissioners to be held commonly by the citizens. The style is characterized by such stark simplicity, by such marked brevity, by such rugged austerity, that the meaning in some sections often borders upon obscurity.⁷

The contribution of Cicero to the text of the Twelve Tables has been known for some centuries,⁸ but, so far as I can ascertain, it never has been assessed. Of the approximately 120 fragments found⁹ Cicero in his extant writings witnesses to about one-third either in quotation or by reference or through interpretation. This proportion is exceeded by no ancient author, not even by the professional Gaius (*flor.* A.D. 160), who preserves almost as much evidence as Cicero.¹⁰ In fact Cicero furnishes on a quantitative basis notable evidence in the case of no less than eight of the dozen sections of the code,¹¹ which for a single author is a good percentage in any computation of this kind.¹² His references total 58 and are distributed among his works thus: 35 in philosophical treatises, 11 in orations, 11 in rhetorical essays, 1 in letters. As may be expected, the *De Legibus* shows the highest number (21) for any of his writings. In ten instances he refers to the same statute more than once: of these the count is fixed at four in two cases and at three in three occurrences.¹³

In each of the three general groups into which the fragments fall Cicero is represented. This classification¹⁴ is as follows: (1) Testimony which either contains or seems

to give the *ipsissima verba* of a statute, whether or not altered by succeeding although still ancient authors into the spelling of their time (x. 4);¹⁵ (2) Testimony which comes from a writer's comments embodying with more or less distortion in the context the actual words of a statute, but presenting its sense in his paraphrase (viii. 1 a-b);¹⁶ (3) Testimony which either interprets a statute (vii. 5 a-b)¹⁵ or designates its convenient title (xi. 3).¹⁵

Let us now examine in some detail Cicero's evidence for the text of the Twelve Tables.¹⁶

I. 1: "SI IN IVS VOCAT, [ITO]. NI IT, ANTES-TAMINO.¹⁷ IGITVR EM¹⁸ CAPITO." "If [the plaintiff] summons [the defendant] into court, [the defendant] shall go. If [the defendant] goes not, [the plaintiff] shall call a witness:¹⁹ thereupon [the plaintiff] shall take him (the defendant) [to court]."

Cicero quotes in *Leg.*, II. 4. 9, the opening words of the rule with which begins the code,²⁰ "SI IN IVS VOCAT," when he writes that from childhood he and his brother have learned to call this phrase and others of this type laws.

I. 4: "ADSIDVO VINDEX ADSIDVVS ESTO; PROLETARIO IAM CIVI QVI VOLET VINDEX ESTO." "For a freeholder (taxpayer whose fortune is valued at not less than 1500 *asses*²¹) a freeholder shall be surety [for his appearance at trial]; for a proletarian citizen (non-taxpayer whose fortune is rated at less than a freeholder's) [any one] who shall be willing shall be surety."

In *Topica*, 2. 10, occurs Cicero's first attempt at interpretation, which is rather inept in respect to etymology. Here we have the first clause, "ADSIDVO VINDEX ADSIDVVS ESTO," quoted in the grammatical forms adapted to its construction in his sentence, when he writes that some argument is derived from the meaning of a word in this manner: when the law ordains that an *assiduus* be a surety (*vindex*) for an *assiduus*, it orders a rich man [to be a surety] for a rich man; for he is an *assiduus*, as Aelius²² says, called [so] from *acre dando*.

This etymology of *assiduus* from *as* (or *aes*) and *dare*²³ was quite popular, since sev-

eral confirmations of it have survived,²⁴ but rather the noun came from the verb and was confused with one of the ordinary meanings of the adjective, which seems to mean "sitting when working at something" and then by extension, when one is seated, "one who is well-to-do in the world."²⁵

II. 2: "... MORBUS SONTICVS . . . AVT STATVS DIES CVM HOSTE . . . QVID HORVM FVIT VITIVM IVDICI ARBITROVE REOVE, EO DIES DIFFISSVS ESTO." "... A dangerous disease . . . or a day appointed [for the hearing of a case] with an alien . . . If any of these (circumstances) has been an impediment for a judge or for an arbitrator or for a party,²⁶ on this account the day [of trial] shall be deferred."

For the second third of this statute, "AVT STATVS DIES CVM HOSTE," Cicero is first responsible, when he quotes it in *De Officiis*, I. 12. 37, to settle the meaning of *hostis*, which originally meant "stranger" to the Romans, who later evolved *hostis* into "enemy" and for "stranger" substituted *peregrinus*.

III. 7: "ADVERSVS HOSTEM AETERNA AVCTORITAS ESTO."²⁷ "Against an alien title of ownership²⁸ shall be [valid] forever."

Cicero alone gives this rule, when he illustrates the shift in the signification of *hostis* in *Off.*, I. 12. 37.²⁹

IV. 1: "Cito necatus tanquam ex xiii tabulis insignis ad deformitatem puer." "Quickly killed, as in accordance with the Twelve Tables, [shall be] a distinctly deformed child."

That this statute belongs in the code rests on Cicero's sole authority. Girard prints none of it in capitals and so we must suppose that Cicero's paraphrase preserves none of the original words. In *Leg.*, III. 8. 19, Cicero likens the law establishing the power of the plebeian tribunes,³⁰ a measure born in civil strife and for civil strife, to a child, whom, distinctly deformed (*insignis ad deformitatem puer*), the Twelve Tables commanded to be killed quickly (*cito necatus*), and he says that after its abolition³¹ the law soon was resuscitated in some way or other³² and was reborn much more hideous and horrible.³³

IV. 3: "Illam suam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex xii tabulis clavis ademit, exegit."

"He has ordered that (woman) of his to have her own property to herself, in accordance with the Twelve Tables he has taken [her] keys, he has expelled [her]."

From *Philippicae*, II. 28. 69, comes a paraphrase for this provision, which Cicero alone presents. Attacking Antonius in a passage full of mock gravity, Cicero says that the triumvir has divorced his woman³⁴ (*suas res sibi habere iussisse*),³⁵ in accordance with the Twelve Tables he has taken away her keys (*clavis ademit*), he has cast her out (*exegisse*). Cicero concludes this section of his assault on Antonius by adding humorously that in his entire life nothing is more honorable than that he has divorced a female mime.³⁶

V. 3: "VTI LEGASSIT SVPER PECVNIA VTTE-LAVE SVAE REI, ITA IVS ESTO." "According as a person shall have ordered concerning [his] property or the guardianship of his estate, so shall be the law."

Four variant versions of this statute from seven separate sources are known according to Girard's note *ad loc.* In his *De Inventione*, II. 50. 148, Cicero has "PATERFAMILIAS VTI SVPER FAMILIA³⁷ PECVNIAQVE³⁷ SVA LEGASSIT [al. LEGAVERIT], ITA IVS ESTO." If Cicero is right, his evidence is important, for only here and in one other source³⁸ occurs the word *familia*. Cicero introduces the statute as a text to explain how from ratiocination is created a controversy, when from that which is written somewhere one comes to that which nowhere is written, and then he illustrates the problem (§ 149) by an imaginary case of a convicted parricide, who, while in prison and awaiting punishment, duly executes his will, after which he is put to death and his will is disputed between his nominated heirs on the one hand and on the other hand his agnate male kinsmen and clansmen. In this instance is not cited a definite law which deprives those in such a situation of the power of making a will. But from all other laws, both those which visit such a man with punishment of this kind and those which pertain to the power of making a will, through ratiocination one can come to a conclusion of this character: that it may be queried whether he had the power of making a will.

V. 4: "SI INTESTATO MORITVR, CVI SVVS HERES NEC ESCIT,"³⁹ ADGNATVS PROXIMVS FAMILIAM HABETO." "If a person, for whom there shall not be his own heir, dies intestate, the nearest agnate (male kinsman)⁴⁰ shall have the [deceased's] estate."

In the same passage and for the same purpose as in v. 3 (*supra*) Cicero introduces his account of this law, "SI PATERFAMILIAS INTESTATO MORITVR, FAMILIA PECVNIAQVE EIVS AGNATVM⁴¹ GENTILIVMQVE ESTO." His reading shows considerable variance from the received version given by Ulpianus about three centuries later.⁴²

V. 5: "SI ADGNATVS NEC ESCIT, GENTILES FAMILIAM HABENTO." "If there shall not be an agnate, the clansmen⁴³ shall have the [deceased's] estate."

Cicero may be said to witness also to this rule, again (as in v. 4 *supra*) preserved by Ulpianus, for from what Cicero has written on the preceding provision (v. 4 *supra*) may be derived support for this statute, though Girard does not give Cicero as a witness.

V. 7 a: "SI FVRIOSVS ESCIT, AST⁴⁴ EI CVSTOS NEC ESCIT, ADGNATVM GENTILIVMQVE IN EO PECVNIAQVE⁴⁵ EIVS POTESTAS ESTO." "If a person shall be insane, but [if] there shall not be a guardian for him, authority over him and his property shall be [that] of [his] agnates and [in default of them] of [his] clansmen."

As in v. 3 and v. 4 (*supra*) for the same purpose and from the same passage Cicero presents his version of this provision, "SI FVRIOSVS EST, AGNATVM GENTILIVMQVE IN EO PECVNIAQVE EIVS POTESTAS ESTO." The only alterations here from the accepted reading are Cicero's "EST" for "ESCIT"⁴⁶ and his "AGNATVM" for "ADGNATVM" and his omission of the condition, "AST EI CVSTOS NEC ESCIT,"⁴⁷ after "EST" (or "ESCIT"). The first clause reappears in *Tusculanae Disputationes*, III. 5. 11, where most of the manuscripts read *esse incipit* for *escit* (or *est*), due doubtlessly to an explanatory gloss.⁴⁸ In this part of that treatise Cicero distinguishes between insanity and frenzy and, that he may illustrate his point, says that whoever is afflicted with the latter condition the Twelve Tables forbid to remain in control of his property⁴⁹ and

he then remarks that accordingly it [the law] is not written "SI INSANVS" but "SI FVRIOSVS ESCIT."⁵⁰ The reason for this was, Cicero continues, that they [the decemvirs] thought that folly (*stultitia*), though lacking steadiness, that is, mental soundness (*sanitas*), nevertheless could perform the ordinary duties and the common and the customary conduct of life; but frenzy (*furor*) they considered to be blindness of the mind in regard to all matters.

VI. 1: "CVM NEXVM FACIET MANCIPIVMQVE, VTI LINGVA NVNCVPASSIT, ITA IVS ESTO." "When a person shall make bond and conveyance, according as he shall have specified with [his] tongue, so shall be the law."

Corroboration of one clause of this regulation comes from *De Or.*, I. 57. 245, where Cicero quotes "VTI LINGVA NVNCVPASSIT." At this place in the dialogue M. Antonius addresses particularly L. Licinius Crassus⁵¹ and the former supposes that the latter is counsel in an inheritance case, in pleading which Crassus waxes so eloquent that through the person of the deceased testator, evoked from the dead and brought before the centumviral court, all the stones would weep and would wail and that the clause "VTI LINGVA NVNCVPASSIT" would seem to have been written not in the Twelve Tables, which Crassus ranks before all libraries, but in the formula of a teacher (in *magistri carmine*).⁵²

VI. 2: "Cum ex XII tabulis satis esset ea praestari, quae essent lingua nuncupata,⁵³ quae qui infitutus esset, dupli poenam subiret, a iuris consultis etiam reticentiae poena est constituta." "Since according to the Twelve Tables it was sufficient that those [faults], which had been specified by the tongue [of the seller] be made good, [and since for those flaws] which he (the seller) had denied [, when expressly questioned about those], he should pay a penalty of double [damages],⁵⁴ by the jurisconsults has been established a penalty even for keeping silence [about defects, although the purchaser has not asked about those]."

In *Off.*, III. 16. 65, Cicero is the sole witness to a statute concerning declaration of faults in property. Of course the words after *subiret* could not have stood in the statute;

these are added by Cicero to exhibit a later extension of this law by interpretation.

VI. 3: "Vsus auctoritas fundi biennium est, . . . ceterarum rerum omnium . . . annuus est usus." "Possession [and] ownership of an estate is a period of two years, . . . of all other things . . . possession is one year's duration [to acquire ownership]."

In support of the topic that by comparison all arguments become valid Cicero proposes in *Top.*, 4. 23, that what is valid in a parallel case should be valid in this which is a parallel case. From his illustration of this proposition is adapted this provision, that, since the use [and] the right of possession of an estate is [for] a period of two years (*usus auctoritas fundi biennium est*),⁵⁴ [so] also should it be of buildings. But in the law buildings are not specified and these are in the category of all other things (*ceterae res omnes*), of which the use is [only] a year's time (*annuus est usus*). The Latin words in parentheses Girard prints as the regulation.

Cicero gives again the first phrase and his proposed extension of it in *Caec.*, 19. 54, after he has contrasted the meaning of words with the writer's design and motive and intent (*op. cit.*, 18. 51-53): The law orders the use and the right of possession of an estate to be [for] a period of two years (*lex usum et auctoritatem fundi iubet esse biennium*).⁵⁵ But we employ the same legal principle in the case of buildings, which in the statute are not specified.

The point which Cicero attempts to prove in each quotation is that the term *fundus* was meant to comprise *aedes*.

VII. 4: "Vsus capionem xii tabulae intra v pedes esse noluerunt." "The Twelve Tables have not wished that within [a strip of] five feet [along a boundary] be [acquired] ownership by long usage."

Cicero alone preserves the evidence for this precept, which is found in *Leg.*, I. 21. 55. Discussing the philosophical differences between the Old (Platonic) Academy and Zeno, he ingeniously inserts this statute, when he maintains that from this variance not of things but of words is created a controversy about the ends of conduct (*fines*),⁵⁶ in which, since the Twelve Tables have not wanted

[along a boundary-line]⁵⁷ ownership to be acquired (*usus capionem esse*) within five feet (*intra quinque pedes*),⁵⁸ we shall not allow the ancient property of the Academy to be acquired⁵⁹ by this astute fellow (Zeno).

VII. 5 a: "SI IURGANT . . ." "If they disagree . . ."

From Nonius, *De Compensiosa Doctrina*, v. 430. 26-431. 3, and assigned to *Rep.*, IV. 8. 8, come the only extant words of this rule, "SI IURGANT." The context shows that he meant a dispute between owners of conterminous estates, for Nonius defines *iurgium* as a contest (*concertatio*) between friends, not a quarrel (*lis*) between private enemies, and he adds that the law therefore thinks that neighbors disagree (*iurgare*), not quarrel (*litigare*).

VII. 5 b: "Controversia est nata de finibus, in qua . . . e XII tres arbitri fines regemus." "About boundaries has arisen a controversy, in which . . . according to the Twelve [Tables] we [as] three arbitrators shall mark the boundaries."

Arbitration in disputes about boundaries was administered according to *Leg.*, I. 21. 55 by the rule of the Twelve Tables, which Cicero alone gives. This statute comes from the same context as VII. 4 (*supra*).⁶⁰

VII. 7: "VIAM MVNIVTO: NI SAM⁶¹ DELAPI-DASSINT,^{61a} QVA VOLET IVMENTO AGITO." "[Neighboring] persons shall pave the road: if they shall not have kept their [part] free from stones, one shall drive [one's] animal [across the land] where one shall wish."

To the greater part of this precept Cicero gives his testimony in *Caec.*, 19. 54, where he tells us that, if a road be impassable, [the law] orders one to drive one's beast wherever one may wish. Here Cicero has *via*, *immunita*, *qua velit*, *iuventum*, *agere*, all of which appear in one or another form in the original ordinance as printed by Girard in capitals. It is supposed that this statute explains servitudes or easements on rural estates, by which one has a right of road through another's land, and that it allows the owner of the servitude to drive his animal through any section of that property under servitude, but not, of course, through any person's land anywhere.

Cicero introduces this regulation in illustration of the difference between what words mean and what the writer of the words meant, for he humorously remarks that from the words it can be understood that, if a road in Bruttium be impassable, one is permitted, if one likes, to drive one's beast through a Tusculan estate.⁶²

It is uncertain whether this statute refers to a road on a servient tenement or to a public road. Against the first view is the doctrine that in a praedial rural servitude the owner of the servient tenement has only negative and permissive duties, not any positive duty; that is, he is not supposed either to build or to repair any roadway used by the owner of the dominant tenement, much less to clear it from stones, which may have worked loose from its construction or may have dropped on it. Against the second view is our lack of knowledge that landowners c. 450 were required by law to build and to clear roads presumably running by their properties. In any event it seems fair for the law to let a driver leave the road, if whoever was (or were) responsible for its clearance neglected this chore. Perhaps diversion of traffic due to bad condition of the road would dictate renewed action to avoid encroachment on one's estate.

VII. 8 a: "SI AQVA PLVVIA NOCET . . ." "If rain-water does damage . . ."

In *Top.*, 9. 39, Cicero interprets this rule, which treats damage caused by rain-water, using three of the four words surviving from the statute, when he explains that, when an argument shall be derived from a genus, it will not be necessary to retrace it all the way from its origin; often one may stop on this side [of that point], provided only that which is assumed is higher than that for which it is assumed; as rain-water (*aqua pluvia*) in its ultimate genus is that which, coming from the sky, increases by a rain-storm, but in its more proximate [sense], in which the right of keeping it off, so to speak (*quasi ius arcendi*), is included, the genus is damaging (*nocens*) rain-water;⁶³ the species of this genus [are the rain-waters] doing damage through a [natural] defect of the place and by the hand [of

man], of which the one is ordered to be restrained by an arbitrator (*ab arbitro coerceri*), [but] the other is not [so] ordered.

VIII. 1 a: "SI QVIS OCCENTASSIT QVOD ALTERI FLAGITIVM FACIAT." "If any one shall have sung [that] which can cause disgrace to another."

This statute Girard gives as the product of Usener's ingenuity spent on Cicero's phrase in *Rep.*, iv. 10. 12,⁶⁴ which in itself constitutes VIII. 1 b and which should be considered properly with that provision (*infra*).

VIII. 1 b: "XII tabulae cum perpaucae res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sancendam putaverunt: si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri." "The Twelve Tables, though these have made very few matters a capital offence, among these considered this following [action] ought to be forbidden under pain of punishment: if any one shall have sung or shall have composed a song, which could cause dishonor or disgrace to another."

This regulation is assigned to *Rep.*, iv. 10. 12, and comes from Augustinus, who quotes it from the *De Re Publica* in *Civ. Dei*, ii. 9 *ad med.* There Cicero calls it an excellent rule (*praeclare*), adding that we ought to have [our] life exposed to view before the judgments of magistrates [and] the disputes allowed by law, not before the cleverness of poets, nor [ought we] to hear an insult [about ourselves], unless on this condition, that it may be permitted [us] to reply and to defend [ourselves] in a law-court (*iudicium*), and concluding that the rule shows that for any living person either to be praised or to be reproached on the stage was displeasing to the ancient Romans. Cicero introduces the statute by a short statement on the license of comic playwrights, who, though they aim their arrows at bad politicians occasionally, yet sometimes shoot their shafts at good statesmen.

In *T. D.*, iv. 2. 4, Cicero seemingly refers to the same regulation, when he claims an early origin⁶⁵ for the composition of songs set to music, because the Twelve Tables declare

that already by that time it was usual for a song (*carmen*) to be composed (*condi*), since these (the Twelve Tables) ordained (*lege sancire*) that this might not be allowed to be done to another's affront (*ad alterius iniuriam*).⁶⁶

NOTES

¹ The Roman tradition of the agitation for and the promulgation of the Twelve Tables is found chiefly in Cicero, *De Re Publica*, II. 36. 61-37. 63; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, XII. 23-26. 1; Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, III. 9-57; Dionysius Halicarnaeus, *Archaeologia Romana*, X. 1-60, XI. 1-46; Sex. Pomponius, *Enchiridion* (excerpted in the *Digesta*, I. 2. 2. 3, 4, 24).

² With extravagant enthusiasm Livius labels the Twelve Tables as the *fons omnis publici privatiq[ue] . . . iuris* (op. cit., III. 34. 6). But from the fragments it seems that the code was rather a compilation of customary law already in existence and in scope was private mostly and partly public and sacred. Despite their rigorous severity the Twelve Tables constituted, as the event proved and as some scholars suppose, in the trenchant phrase of Tacitus the *finis aequi iuris* (*Annales*, III. 27. 1).

³ Such is the almost unanimous tradition; but one source says ivory (*eboreae*). Since some scholars scout the use of ivory in Rome at that period, perhaps the evidence should be emended from *eboreae* to *roboreae* (wooden).

⁴ *De Legibus*, II. 23. 59: *ut carmen necessarium*.

It hardly need be said, I suppose, that, even if the original Tables or the then extant copies of these survived the Gallic capture of Rome, as Livius seems to imply (op. cit., VI. 1. 10), when he says that some of the laws were made accessible to the populace, but those which pertained to sacred rites were withheld by the pontiffs, particularly that they might hold the minds of the multitude bound by religious fear, at least for the Ciceronian age there exists no evidence that there was what we can call a standard edition of the code. However, there must have been unofficial versions, of which that by Sex. Aelius Pactus Catus (cos. 198), who also interpreted the text, perhaps was the earliest. The existence of the Pactine edition, entitled *Triperitua*, which probably was the commentary mentioned *sine titulo* by Cicero (*De Oratore*, I. 56. 240), can be traced into the principate of Hadrianus (117-138), when it was known to Pomponius (*Dig.*, I. 2. 2. 38).

⁵ Cf. *infra* nn. 10-12 and text *ad loc.*

⁶ Modern arrangement of the fragments (*adhuc sub iudice*) ascends into the nineteenth century, when H. E. Dirksen laid the foundation in his *Uebersicht der bisherigen Versuche zur Kritik und Herstellung des Textes der Zwölf-Tafel-Fragmente* (Leipzig 1824). Ancient authors who quote or cite the provisions of the code were conspicuously careless in pointing to the places where the sentences stood in their texts of the Tables and they commonly failed to indicate this information for future investigators. Consequently con-

jecture on position has been necessary and consensus of opinions among scholars, as any one can suspect, has not been achieved on all allocations.

For the purposes of this paper, which will not pretend to solve this problem, I have selected the results most recently reached by P. F. Girard in his *Textes de droit romain*, pp. 12-23 (6th ed., Paris 1937), even though I disagree with his assignment of the 5th statute of Table I and the 7th statute of Table III, each of which could be removed from their traditional setting (for which there is no ancient authority) to a more appropriate location in Table VI.

Since the completion of this study in 1947 S. Riccobono's text of the Twelve Tables in his *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, vol. 1, pp. 21-75 (2nd ed., Firenze 1941), became available to me, but the differences between Girard and Riccobono are too minor to demand the adoption of the latter's text.

⁷ Accordingly and at the Editor's suggestion I shall give an English translation of each quotation for the benefit of the average Latinist as well as of any lawyer, *quorum in manus cura nostra venerit* (Tacitus, op. cit., IV. 11. 5) and who may have difficulty in interpreting the (sometimes) archaic diction and style. In such translation words between [] complete the sense of a sentence and words between () are either definitions or equivalents.

⁸ It seems that the reconstruction of the Twelve Tables started in the sixteenth century, when Aymar du Rivail (c. 1490-c. 1560) published his *Histoire du droit civil* (Valence 1515).

⁹ Girard apportions 106 fragments among the Tables and adds 13 fragments of uncertain assignment. Of these 119 there are 19 which are divided into "a" and "b" by the editor, who by this arrangement either supplies another phrase or clause for the same statute from (usually) another source or indicates a supplementary interpretation for the same statute so strong in itself that it deserves inclusion as a definition.

Of these fragments about four score are so involved in the contexts of the quoters' own words that distortion of the law is displayed in varying degrees, although doubtlessly the paraphrases preserve the sense of any statute and of course sometimes its actual words.

¹⁰ If we rely on Girard's *testimonia* only, the score stands: Gaius 41 vs. Cicero 40. On the other hand, when it is a question of acknowledged quotations of statutes (printed by Girard in small capitals), Cicero wins over Gaius by 19 to 2 (not counting v. 5, q.v.)!

However, if we add a reference to the *Pro Milone* to VIII. 13, which Girard missed (cf. *infra* n. 13 and text at n. 74), Cicero emerges from these statistics even with Gaius and Cicero even surpasses Gaius, if we find in Cicero's favor the evidence of Augustinus in his *De Civitate Dei* (cf. *infra* text at n. 68), a reference indeed given by Girard, who, when he lists the *loci* for VIII. 8 b, accredits it to Augustinus and does not count it for Cicero.

¹¹ Here the count (not below one-third in each illustration) stands thus:

Table x:	10 out of 10 statutes
Table xi:	2 out of 3 statutes
Table iv:	2 out of 4 statutes
Table vii:	9 out of 12 statutes
Table v:	4 out of 10 statutes
Table iii:	1 out of 3 statutes
Table vi:	3 out of 9 statutes
Table ix:	2 out of 6 statutes

¹² Cicero witnesses to every section save the 12th.

Even Gaius testifies to only 10 out of 12, being silent on sections 9 and 10. If we had Gaius' commentary on the code (*Institutiones*, iv. 18. 9), undoubtedly we should have excellent evidence for every title in the Tables.

¹³ According to Girard's *apparatus fontium* viii. 13 has Cicero's testimony only twice in the *Pro Tullio*, but there is a third reference in the *Pro Milone*. There is not the slightest suspicion about this Milonianum; therefore, it is surprising that since 1889, when his first edition appeared, Girard never appended it, if his attention had been attracted to it. It was printed in the German rival of Girard's *répertoire* by C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, p. 28 (3rd ed., Tuebingen 1876), 13 years ere the Frenchman brought his book to light. (It is not in Bruns' 1st ed. of 1860, but it may have been in his 2nd ed. of 1871, to which I have not had access.) Cf. *infra* text at n. 74.

¹⁴ It must be noted that editors are not in accord on what fragments belong in which classification and even adopt various classifications. Here, however, I follow Girard, although again I fail to accept all his findings: e.g., some of the first part of the 6th statute of Table x (ne . . . *acerrae*) should be printed as part of the law in small capitals.

¹⁵ This statute comes from Cicero.

¹⁶ That the reader may locate the place of each citation in its context of the code, I give in English the modern titles of each Table:

- i. Proceedings Preliminary to Trial
- ii. Trial
- iii. Execution
- iv. Paternal Power
- v. Inheritance and Guardianship
- vi. Ownership and Possession
- vii. Real Property
- viii. Torts or Delicts
- ix. Public Law
- x. Sacred Law
- xi. Supplementary Laws
- xii. Supplementary Laws

¹⁷ "MINO" is an early form for "MINI" in present imperative passive.

¹⁸ "EM" is an older form of "EVM."

¹⁹ An ancient explanation of "ANTESTARI" is that it stands for "ANTETESTARI" and that it means that the plaintiff must call a witness to the fact that the defendant has not gone voluntarily into court, before the former will lay hands on the latter to take him thither. Cf. Porphyrio, *Commentarii in Q. Horati Flacci Sermones*, i. 9. 76.

It should be remarked that in the early years of Rome the only way for a plaintiff to compel a recalcitrant defendant's presence at the preliminary hearing of a suit in private law before a magistrate was for the plaintiff to apply force to the defendant, for there seems to have been neither a writ of summons to be served nor an officer of the law to serve it. Of course, after the magistrate had been satisfied that there was a *prima facie* case, by virtue of the *coercitio* implicit in his *imperium* the magistrate could compel attendance at the ensuing trial (*iudicium*) before the *iudex*, whom he appointed to hear the suit and to render the judgment.

²⁰ I have no doubt that by quoting this clause, which comes first, so far as we know, in the Twelve Tables, Cicero intends it to stand for XII TABULAE OF LEX XII TABULARVM OF (simpliciter) DVODICIM, by which titles the code is known. Such a shorthand custom still prevails and may be paralleled in current reference to papal documents, such as *inter alia* encyclicals (*Aeterni Patris*, *Rerum Novarum*, *Casti Connubii*) and constitutions (*Praedecessores Nostri*, *Commissum Nobis*, *Vacante Sede Apostolica*), where by their opening words used as titles the entire compositions are meant.

²¹ The *as* originally was a bar (one foot in length) of copper (*aes*), then a weight, then a coin weighing one pound and worth about \$17. From time to time the *as* was reduced in weight and was depreciated in value, until by the provisions of the *Lex Papiria* in 191 B.C. the *as* weighed one-half ounce and was valued at \$.008.

²² Apparently L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus, one of his instructors in rhetoric, mentioned also in *Leg.* ii. 23. 59; *Brutus*, 46. 169, 56. 205-207; *De Or.* i. 43. 193; *Academica*, i. 2. 8. Only fragments of his works (oratorical, grammatical, exegetical) survive.

²³ Cicero repeats this derivation *de suo* (that is, without acknowledgment of Aelian authority) in *Rep.* ii. 22. 40, when he shows how careful in words was Servius [Tullius, whose dates, for what these are worth, are 578-534], who in dividing the *populus* called the rich *assidui ab asse dando* and named those who were either poor or destitute *proletarii*, that from the latter might seem to be expected offspring (*proles*), that is, so to speak, the progeny of the State.

²⁴ So Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, v. 10. 95; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, xvi. 10. 13; Charisius, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, i. 75. 8-12 K; Isidorus, *Etymologiae sive Origines*, x. 17; Paulus, *Excerpta ex Libris Festi de Significatione Verborum*, p. 7 T or p. 9 M.

²⁵ Paulus, *op. et loc. cit.* in n. 24 *supra*.

²⁶ At this time in the language *reus* meant any litigant; in later Latin *reus* was restricted to signify the defendant.

²⁷ "ESTO" is supplied from Gellius, *op. cit.*, xvii. 7. 1, who quotes *aeterna auctoritas esto* from what he calls the *lex vetus Atinia*, which perhaps was introduced by C. Atinius Labeo (*tr. pl.* 157).

²⁸ That this paper may not be unduly prolix, I do not intend to comment in *extenso* on every legal point, unless Cicero has a pertinent contribution to make. I must assume some knowledge of Latin on the part of my readers. But here the meaning of *auctoritas* may be

obscure to the average Latinist. The statute seems to signify that right of ownership (*auctoritas*) as distinct from mere possession (*usus*) is good forever in dealings with a stranger (i.e., a foreigner); that is to say, no foreigner can claim title to property (*auctoritas*) simply by long possession thereof (*usucapio*), when that property is situated in Roman territory and when its title is claimed by a Roman citizen. Cicero explains *auctoritas* in these loci: *Pro Caecina*, 19. 54; *Top.*, 4. 23; cf. *De Haruspicio Responsis*, 7. 14, and *Caec.*, 26. 74. Cf. *infra* text on vi. 3 and especially n. 55.

²⁰ Discussed in preceding paragraph.

²¹ This may have been the so-called *Lex Menenia* of 494 (a *lex sacra*) according to Livius, *op. cit.*, II. 32. 8-33. 3; but his story is open to suspicion.

²² Both consulate and tribunate were suspended during the decemvirate of 451-449 according to Cicero, *Rep.*, II. 36. 61-37. 63.

²³ By the *Leges Valeriae Horatiae* of 449 according to Livius, *op. cit.*, III. 54. 6-55. 12.

²⁴ Despite Girard's authority I think that the second parenthesized Latin phrase stood in the statute originally as Cicero gives it and that the substance of the first Latin phrase was there too, for there was no point in preserving indefinitely an obviously physically malformed infant in those ancient times. And even today a good case for infanticide of the congenitally deformed through euthanasia, if by no other way, can be constructed, though doubtlessly this practice is repugnant to those who oppose even the promotion of the general welfare through provision for the sexual sterilization of persons unfit for parenthood, not caring to consider, on the one hand, that human experience has demonstrated that mental deficiency, familial mental disease, epilepsy, blindness, deaf-mutism, gross deformity, neurological diseases are transmitted genetically and, on the other hand, that the unrestrained propagation of such misfits, who ordinarily never rise above the plane of social inadequacy, is a menace to the good society in any world—and that world need be neither brave nor new.

²⁵ In his *Epistulae ad Atticum*, x. 10. 5, Cicero writes her name *Cytheris* and says that Antonius carries her about with him in an open litter as his second wife. But, since Antonius had not divorced Antonia, his cousin-wife and the second of his five wives, till 47, about 18 months after this letter's date (*Phil.*, II. 38. 99), Cicero's claim in *Att.*, x. 10. 5, and *Phil.*, II. 28. 69, is, of course, sarcastic, since *Cytheris* was not an *uxor*.

²⁶ The technical phrase used in *repudium*, when either partner divorced the other partner, was either *tuas res tibi habeto* or *tuas res tibi agito* (*Dig.*, XXIV. 2. 2. 1). This formula and the action of the deprivation of keys to the household's storerooms (*ademptio clavium*) seem to have constituted one form of compulsory divorce (*repudium*) between Romans. (Separation by mutual consent was *divortium*.) The husband's surrender of the wife's property (dowry, antenuptial gifts, etc.) was an essential feature of divorce. Perhaps the phrases *tuas res tibi habeto* and *claves admitto* appeared in the statute.

²⁷ Girard does not print the context.

²⁸ Though the Romans sometimes regarded both

familia and *pecunia* as synonymous for property and for estate, here these terms perhaps are quite distinct. Doubtlessly *familia* here means the property in the house, while *pecunia* denotes here the animals on the farm. Some scholars believe that *familia* includes all *res mancipi* (land, the larger farm-animals, rural servitudes, slaves), which could be transferred formally (*mancipatio* or *in iure cessio*), and that *pecunia* embraces all the *res nec mancipi* (everything else, including the smaller animals), which could be transferred informally (*traditio*).

²⁹ Auctor Incertus, *Ad Herennium*, I. 13. 23. Of course, if one believes that Cicero wrote this work, which so closely resembles his *De Inventione*, Cicero remains the only one who reads *familia* into this regulation. On the contrary, most modern scholars scout the manuscriptal tradition which assigns the *Ad Herennium* to Cicero and they consider that the resemblance either comes from Cicero's use of it in his *De Inventione* or arises from Cicero's and the unknown author's use of a common source.

I may add as a gesture to the protagonists of the Ciceronian authorship of the *Ad Herennium* that this work witnesses to these parts of the code: I. 1, 6, 7; v. 7 a. The second and the third references are interesting, because the grammarian Priscianus in his *Institutiones Grammaticae*, x. 5. 32 [pp. 894-895 P or pp. 495-496 K], gives Cicero in the second book of the *Ad Herennium* [II. 13. 20] as an authority for the fact that the ancients used to say *pago* for *paciscor* and in support of this statement Priscianus quotes all of I. 6 and the first clause of I. 7: [6.] "REM VBI PACVNT, ORATO. [7.] NI PACVNT . . ." The Priscianian codices generally read *rem ubi pagunt orationi pagunt*, which editors have resolved into the spacing given above in capital letters.

³⁰ "ESCIT" is an early form for "ERIT."

³¹ Agnates (*agnati*) are relatives by blood or through adoption on male side only; cognates (*cognati*) are blood-relatives on either male or female side. The family of the *ius civile* is the agnatic family; the family of the *ius gentium* is the cognatic family. By the time of the publication of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (529/4 A.D.) the conception of *cognatio* succeeded in superseding the rival conception of *agnatio*.

³² "AGNATVM" for "AGNATORVM" illustrates the spelling of words denoting coins and measures and (here) certain names of persons in the second declension's genitive plural.

³³ The *De Inventione* was a juvenile production by Cicero c. 84, while Ulpianus died in 228.

³⁴ Clansmen (*gentiles*) are persons all belonging to the same clan (*gens*) as the deceased and, of course, include agnates, when these exist.

³⁵ "AST" is an archaic form of "AT," but it occurs occasionally in post-Augustan poetry (e.g., seven instances in the *Saturae* of Iuvenalis are reported).

³⁶ Doubtlessly *pecunia* here must mean all his belongings, for it would be absurd to suppose that the law contemplated a mentally diseased person's control over some and not other parts of his property.

³⁷ Girard credits the statute primarily to the *Ad Her.*

1. 13. 23; but the latest edition of this work accessible to me, that of F. Marx's 2nd ed., Leipzig 1923, in Teubner's series of *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia*, 1. 1, exhibits *existet* in the text and admits to the *apparatus* only *existet* and *existat*, omitting entirely the inchoative form *escit*.

⁴⁷ This clause comes from Paulus-Festus and in my opinion belongs later in this Table, perhaps not far from this provision. Certainly it seems to consider some kind of safe custody apart from that contributed by kinsmen (*agnati*) and clansmen (*gentiles*).

⁴⁸ For the manuscriptal *esse incipit* Bouhier in 1739 proposed the editorial *escit*, which has become the generally accepted reading.

⁴⁹ Without mentioning the code Cicero apparently refers again to this statute in *Rep.*, III. 33. 45, where he writes (just before a *lacuna*): . . . *cum furiosorum bona legibus in adgnatorum potestate sint* . . .

⁵⁰ Of course, *furiosus* is a stronger word than *insanus*, no matter what interpretation for the reason of its selection Cicero invented.

⁵¹ Antonius and Crassus were consuls respectively in 99 and in 95.

⁵² With this phrase *cf. qui . . . ex scholis cantilenam requirunt* (*op. cit.*, I. 23. 105) and *doctore, qui . . . praecepta decantet* (*op. cit.*, II. 18. 75). The Twelve Tables themselves are called a *carmen* (*Leg.*, II. 23. 59).

⁵³ From the fact that this clause shows that *lingua* is ablative it may be conjectured that in the preceding provision "LINGVA" also is ablative.

⁵⁴ That is, the vendor would have to pay twice the proportionate part of the price or of what had passed from the seller to the purchaser.

⁵⁵ It is interesting to observe that *usus auctoritas* appears with and without the connecting *et* in Cicero's paraphrase. The phrase seems to mean that *usus* or possession must exist for two years, at the expiration of which period *auctoritas* or ownership is established. This process is *usucapio*, by which is meant the acquisition of ownership (right of possession) by continuous possession (use), and it constitutes one of the limitations which ownership must impose on itself in its own interest. *Cf. Caec.*, 28. 73-75 (especially 74, where *usucapio* and *auctoritas* are derived from *lex* and *ius civile* respectively) for one of Cicero's eloquent pleas in behalf of Law. *Cf. supra* n. 28.

⁵⁶ *Finis* means both "end" and "boundary," by which word-play Cicero connects each part of the sentence and points to what the statute signifies. *Finis* in the sense of "end" is the extremity of an ascending series and in ancient ethics when coupled with *bonus* or *malus* stands for the *summum bonum* or the *summum malum*; hence the title of Cicero's most elaborate essay on ethics: *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*.

⁵⁷ This strip was segregated from permanent possession by either owner of the estates contiguous with it, although both neighbors had the privilege of walking and of driving on it.

⁵⁸ It is hard to disbelieve that in this phrase we have not the *ipsissima verba* of the regulation; but Girard evidently takes the opposite view. *Suo cuique iudicio utendum est*.

⁵⁹ Literally, "to be consumed," "to be devoured," "to be gobbled up" (*depasci*: the present passive infinitive).

⁶⁰ This statement concludes Cicero's account of boundaries between properties given under VII. 4. *Cf. supra* nn. 56-58. *Tres arbitri* and *fines*, I think, must have stood in the statute.

⁶¹ "SAM" is archaic for "BVAM."

⁶² Only two instances of *delapidare* are recorded: the earlier means "to clear from stones" and the later means "to pave with stones."

⁶³ Bruttium was the southernmost part of the Italian peninsula, while Tusculum was a town in Latium near Rome. The aerial distance between Nerulum, which was the most northerly town in Bruttium, and Tusculum is about 220 English miles. Bruttium from top to toe was about 150 miles in length.

⁶⁴ Editors bracket the Latin equivalent of "the genus is rain-water": [*genus est aqua pluvial*], to which *nocens* is attached and is left untouched. Doubtlessly Cicero preserves, at least in his first use of the phrase, the "AQUA PLUVIA" of the precept and in *nocens* he represents "NOCET."

⁶⁵ H. Usener, "Italische Volksjustiz" in *Rheinisches Museum fuer Philologie*, LVI (1901) 1-28.

⁶⁶ In *op. cit.*, IV. 1-2. 3, Cicero shows how posterity with a fine disregard for chronology considered Numa (715-673) a pupil of Pythagoras (*flor.* 525) and then traces the composition of songs through their use at Roman banquets in ancient times to Pythagorean customs. Cicero's reasoning is somewhat remarkable, in that (1) the Pythagoreans inculcated instruction by means of metrical form and withdrew their minds from the senselessness of thinking to a calm condition by means of singing to the lyre; (2) at banquets the early Romans sang the praises and the accomplishments of famous men to the accompaniment of the flute; (3) therefore the ancient Romans were familiar with Pythagorean precepts. But whether setting lyrics to music started with Numa or with Pythagoras, so far as the early Romans were concerned, in any event it antedated the decemviral legislation—which is for us the point of Cicero's illustration.

⁶⁷ Since Roman Law did not distinguish written libel and spoken slander, it was immaterial how the insult was inflicted.

Virgil as a Magician

Mario N. Pavia

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VIRGIL'S DEBASEMENT INTO A MAGICIAN during the Middle Ages is not surprising if we take into account the fact that other historical personages were similarly debased. Such great sages of antiquity as Empedocles, Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato acquired this reputation very early.¹ Apuleius, as the author of *The Golden Ass*, one of the earliest and best witchcraft novels, was accused of being a magician while still living, an accusation which he refuted in a scholarly manner in his *Apologia*.

In the Middle Ages, when superstitions were very rampant, anyone who professed knowledge in astrology, astronomy, mathematics, mechanics, and physics, which in those days were believed to pertain to the field of white magic, was regarded as a magician.² Such in fact was the case with Pope Sylvester II, or Gerbert,³ Albertus Magnus,⁴ Roger Bacon⁵ and the Marquis of Villena.⁶ Others acquired this reputation through their fame or some other factor. Horace, for example, is still revered as a powerful, benevolent magician by the people in the neighbourhood of Palestrina.⁷ Dante and Petrarch are also believed to have been regarded as magicians.⁸ Joan of Arc at her trial was accused of being a witch in league with the devil.⁹ The widow of Padilla, who after her husband was killed led the *comuneros* in their revolt against Charles V, was accused by the clergy of having influenced her followers by enchantments and of having been attended by a familiar spirit in the shape of a Negro maid.¹⁰ Veronica Franco, an Italian courtesan poetess of the Renaissance, was accused of

witchcraft practice and tried by the Inquisition.¹¹ Juan de Espina, a seventeenth-century Spanish musician, archeologist, and art collector, was popularly regarded as a magician.¹² Tommaso Campanella, author of *Città del sole*, 1623, was believed to have been attended by a familiar spirit confined in his finger nails.¹³ Alessandro Tassoni, author of *La secchia rapita*, 1614, was believed to have kept a phial of Cartesian spirits.¹⁴

Other historical personages during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as well were actual practitioners of the black art, as Michael Scot,¹⁵ Tritheim, Paracelsus, Henry Cornelius Agrippa,¹⁶ Cardan, Johann Faustus,¹⁷ Eugenio Torralba,¹⁸ Dr. John Dee, and later in the eighteenth century Cagliostro,¹⁹ Casanova,²⁰ the Duke of Richelieu, the Regent Philippe d'Orleans, Madame D'Urfé, and others.²¹

Of the biblical personages, although in the Bible magic and witchcraft are constantly condemned,²² Moses,²³ Solomon,²⁴ Simon,²⁵ and even Jesus²⁶ are often described as magicians.

Virgil's debasement into a magician during the Middle Ages may have been due to several factors; namely, his prominence in Latin literature, the mystic element in the sixth book of his *Aeneid*, the prophetic element in his fourth eclogue; or he may have been confused with St. Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg, who upon his death in 789 left a great name as a man of learning.²⁷ Anyway he was very early segregated from other pagan writers by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Lactantius, Minucius Felix, and other church writers and re-

garded with the sibyl and the prophets of the Old Testament as a prophesier of the coming of Christ.²⁸ His tomb at Naples was thus said to have been visited by St. Paul, and Statius to have been converted to Christianity upon reading the fourth eclogue.²⁹ Moreover, on the basis of this eclogue, his image was included among the cavern seers in the cathedral of Zamora, while in those of Limoges and Rheims, the following Christmas appeal was made to him: "O Maro, prophet of the Gentiles, bear thou thy witness unto Christ."³⁰ The fourth eclogue was indeed a link between the old and new faith.

Under these conditions, Virgil soon lost his character as a poet and acquired that of a benevolent magician. The legends that grew about him relating of the wonders that he performed are many. According to these, he founded the city of Naples, surrounded it with walls, and left a model of it in a narrow-necked bottle, by preserving which the city was safe from any attack.³¹ He made a bronze statue of a horse, which, as long as it remained intact, prevented the horses of the city from weakening their backs.³² He made a bronze fly of the size of a frog, by placing which on one of the gates he rid the city of its flies.³³ At another gate he placed two stone statues, one of which gave good luck and the other bad, depending on which one was approached first.³⁴ He made a butcher's block on which meat could be kept fresh for six weeks and chambers in which meat could be kept untainted indefinitely.³⁵ He made a bronze statue of a man with a bow and an arrow aimed at the crater of Mount Vesuvius, which, as long as the arrow was not released, kept Mount Vesuvius quiet; but as soon as the arrow was released by a curious countryman, an eruption ensued.³⁶ When Naples was infested with snakes, he drove them under Porta Ferrea.³⁷ At Baia and Pozzuoli he constructed public baths, decorated with images representing the various diseases and indicating by which bath they could be cured.³⁸ His bones, which were buried in a castle surrounded by sea, if exposed to the air, provoked a dark tempest attended by

noises and agitation of the sea.³⁹ He built also an enchanted garden in which it never rained,⁴⁰ a brazen bridge whereby one could go anywhere he wished,⁴¹ an enchanted belfry,⁴² two tapers and a lamp which were always lit and could not be extinguished,⁴³ a bronze head that talked,⁴⁴ and other similar wonders.

At Rome he built an enchanted palace by virtue of which the emperor could hear everything that was said in the city.⁴⁵ On the Capitolium he placed several carved stone images, known as *Salvatio Romae*, which had the power to reveal what nation intended to wage war against Rome.⁴⁶ He also made some copper images which went about the city at night and killed robbers.⁴⁷

Aside from performing these wonders, he is also described as an astrologer, or astronomer, able to predict the future or see distant events.⁴⁸

As a lover, he is represented as courting the emperor's daughter or some other lady. Very popular is the story about the Roman lady who, after granting him a tryst and agreeing to pull him up to her room in a basket, treacherously left him suspended to public ridicule halfway up to her window.⁴⁹ In another story he carries off the daughter of the Sultan of Babylon, baffles the Sultan by sorcery, builds the city of Naples, and founds a famous school of magic there.⁵⁰

As Virgil's fame as a magician grew, there were also attributed to him the wonders of other magicians. Thus, in a story reminiscent of the brass bottles of Solomon in *The Thousand and One Nights*, once while he was working in a vineyard, he dug up a bottle in which twelve devils were confined, who, in return for their freedom, taught him magic.⁵¹ In another story it is related that once when Virgil left Venice in search of adventures, upon reaching Mount of Sorrows, he desecrated a bottle in which a spirit was confined. On releasing this, he was shown a place where he found a magic book under the head of a corpse. As soon as he opened the book, eighty thousand devils appeared and offered him their services. He thus made them pave a

long street.⁵² In another story, in return for the book of Solomon, Virgil released a devil, who grew into enormous proportions. Virgil however tricked him into reëntering the bottle, and confined him therein by showing that he could not be contained in the bottle in his present size.⁵³

To complete Virgil's portrait as a magician, in a curious Latin work entitled *Virgili Cordubensis philosophia*, he is represented as an Arabian philosopher and charlatan, who had studied magic at Toledo, and who at the time was residing at Cordova. Described as a contemporary of Seneca, Avicenna, Averroes, and Algazel, he boasts to enjoy the patronage of Toledan students and scholars; because, thanks to the science "which some call necromancy, but we *Refulgentia*," he knows everything abstruse.⁵⁴

In a story dealing with Virgil's death, it is related that one day before undertaking journey Virgil consulted a brazen head he had made; whereupon he was assured that if he took care of his head all would be well. Virgil, however, mistook this warning as referring to the brazen head. So when he set out on his journey since he neglected his own head, he died of sunstroke. This according to Donatus is historically true.⁵⁵ In Eschenbach's *Parzival*,⁵⁶ Virgil becomes an ancestor of the magician Klingsor, a native of the Land of Labour.

These stories, according to Comparetti,⁵⁷ one of the best authorities on Virgil as a magician, grew out of Neapolitan folklore as a result of Virgil's long stay at Naples and the fame of his tomb there. Thence they spread to the literature of other countries of Europe through popular romances and learned Latin works.⁵⁸

NOTES

¹ Pliny *N.H.*, xxx. 2; Diog. Laert. iii. 7.

² D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, nuova edizione a cura di Giorgio Pasquali, II (Firenze: "La nuova Italia," Editrice, 1946), 14. Volume I published in 1937.

³ B. G. Feijóo, *Teatro crítico universal*, II (Madrid: Blas Román, 1781), 168. It is also interesting to note that other popes were branded as magicians. Benedict IX, for example, was popularly believed to have kept magic books in his oratory (G. Hodgson, "Macbeth and the

"Sin of Witchcraft," "Dublin Review, CLXXXVII [October 1930], 302. Gregory VII, one of the most illustrious of popes, who was made a saint, was also stigmatized as a magician (Feijóo, *op. cit.*, p. 181). Boniface VIII, who was accused of sorcery and heresy during a quarrel with Philip the Fair, was said to have worn a ring in which a demon was confined (T. Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, I [London: R. Bentley, 1851], 43). John XXII, believed to be the author of two alchemical books entitled *The Philosopher's Stone* and *The Art of Transmutation*, was initiated when a youth in the practice of magic by Arnaldus Villanovanus and Raymund Lull (I. della Giovanna, *Dante Mago* [Roma: Soc. ed. Dante Alighieri, 1898], p. 3. In *The Devil's Charter* (1607), a satirical play by Barnaby Barnes, Alexander VI is repugnantly represented as a conjuror in league with Satan (see edition by R. B. McKerrow, Louvain: A. Uystpruyt, 1904).

⁴ E. Levi, *The History of Magic*, trans. by Arthur E. Waite (London: W. Rider and Son, Ltd., 1913), pp. 258 ff.

⁵ See *The famous historie of Fryer Bacon* (London: Printed by E. A. for Francis Groue, [1816]), and Robert Greene's play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1588).

⁶ See B. G. Feijóo, "Apología de algunos personajes famosos de la historia," *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, LVII (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1883), 316-318. For plays about this historical character as a magician, see Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, *La Cueva de Salamanca* (1600); Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, *Lo que quería ver el Marqués de Villena*; and Juan Eugenio de Hartzenbusch, *La redoma encantada* (1839).

⁷ Thomas Warton, *History of English Poetry*, III (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871), 180.

⁸ Della Giovanna, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁹ Rafael Sabatini, *Heroic Lives* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), p. 166. On Joan of Arc scores of plays have been written. The following are some of the most important: Shakespeare, *The Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*; Schiller, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*; and George Bernard Shaw, *Saint Joan*. See also Voltaire, *La Pucelle*.

¹⁰ W. Robertson, *The History of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, II (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1875), 33.

¹¹ Arturo Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento* (Torino: E. Loescher, 1916), p. 338.

¹² See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Juan de Espina; noticias de este célebre y enigmático personaje* (Madrid: Impr. de la Rev. de archivos, 1908). For plays about this historical character, see José de Cañizares, *Don Juan de Espina en su patria*, and *Don Juan de Espina en Milán*.

¹³ A. Belloni, *El Seicento, Storia letteraria d'Italia* (Milano: F. Vallardi, 1929), p. 14.

¹⁴ Della Giovanna, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Mentioned by a number of writers, as Dante, *Inferno*, xx. 116; Boccaccio, *Decameron*, vii. 9; Folengo, *De Gestis Baldi*, xviii; Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II, chap. lxii; Quevedo, *Las zahurdas de Plutoón*; Sir Walter Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, II. 13.

¹⁶ The necromancer Her-Trippa in Rabelais' *Panta-*

gruel may be Henry Cornelius Agrippa (*Oeuvres de Rabelais*, iv [Paris: Chez Dalibon, Libraire, 1823], 486).

¹⁷ See Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragicall History of Dr. Faustus* (1588), and Goethe, *Faust*: (1807-1831).

¹⁸ Mentioned by Cervantes in his *Don Quixote*, II, chap. xli.

¹⁹ For a play on this historical character, see Eugène Scribe, *Cagliostro*.

²⁰ See his *Mémoires* (Bruxelles: J. Rozez, 1879), II, chaps. iii-iv; III, 28c.

²¹ C. Bida, *La croyance à la magie au XVIII^e siècle en France dans les contes, romans et traités* (Paris: Librairie J. Gamber, 1925), pp. 11-12.

²² Exod. 22: 18, Deut. 18: 10.

²³ Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxx. 2. Joyce E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1929), p. 7, n. 1.

²⁴ F. Josephus, *Antiquitatum Judaicarum*, viii. 45-46. Solomon is also described as a magician in the *Koran*, *The Thousand and One Nights*, and in a number of magic books ascribed to him (H. Gollancz, *Clavicula Salomonis*, [London: D. Nutt, 1903], pp. 11-12).

²⁵ The Acts 8. In Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Ismeno may be an anagram for Simon. See *Gerusalemme Liberata* with notes by Pio Spagnotti (Milano: U. Hoepli, 1923), p. 28.

²⁶ "Magic as a Key to the Interpretation of Religion," *Current Literature*, xli (September, 1906), 315. C. H. Kraeling, "Was Jesus Accused of Necromancy?" *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, lxx (June, 1940), 147-157. E. Levi, *Cristo, la Magia e il Diavolo* (Napoli: Soc. ed. partenopea, 1925).

²⁷ M. Summers, *The Geography of Witchcraft* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 62, note 103.

²⁸ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, I, 121 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 125.

³⁰ Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, II, 24.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 28; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³⁶ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, II, 25.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Cf. Adenet, *Cléomadès*, vss. 1649-1663.

⁴⁰ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, II, 66, 67.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84. For a few plays involving brazen heads, see Robert Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1588), scene xi; Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, *La Cueva de Salamanca* (1600), Act II; Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, *El español de Venecia o la cabeza encantada*

(19th c.), Act V, scene viii. See also Cervantes, *Don Quixote* (1605-1615), Part II, chap. lxii.

⁴⁵ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁴⁸ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, II, 13.

⁴⁹ Allusions to this story or versions of it are very common in literature. The following are a few examples: Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor* (apropos of *Pecado de la Luxuria*); Archipreste de Talavera, *Corbacho*, chap. xvii; Fernando de Rojas, *Celestina*, Act VII; *Cancionero de Baena*, II (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1860), 29, 87; Antonio Pucci, *Contrasto delle donne* (poem); Pietro Fortini, *Novelle*, II (Firenze: Il "Giornale di Erudizione" Editore, 1890), 70-114.

⁵⁰ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-116. For other schools of magic, see B. G. Feijóo, "Cuevas de Salamanca y Toledo, y mágica de España," *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, lvi (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1883), 374-381.

⁵¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, II, 96-97.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98. In Spain, the legend of confining devils in phials was popularized by Luis Vélez de Guevara in his *El diablo cojuelo* (1641), which was in turn imitated by Lesage in his *Diabole boiteux* (1707). For a play about the phial legend of the Marquis of Villena, see Juan Eugenio de Hartzenbusch, *La redoma encantada* (1839).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

⁵⁶ (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1930), p. 337.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 17.

⁵⁸ The following are some: John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus* (1156); Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum* (1200); Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* (1212); Antonio Pucci, *Zibaldone* (in MS. at Florence); Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histoires*; Gabriel Naudé, *Apologie pour tous les grands hommes qui ont esté accusez de magie* (Paris: F. Eschart, 1669), pp. 439-460; Anonymous, *Dolopathos, Gesta Romanorum, Faicts Merveilleux, Renart Contrefait* (1210), *Image du Monde* (1245), *Process of the Seven Sages* (1330), *Cronica di Partenope, Life of Virgilus* (1508), and the Spanish romance *Virgilio* (1550). See also Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, "Geschichte des Zaubers Virgilius," *Erzählungen und Märchen* (Prenzlau: Ragoczy, 1825), pp. 153-205; Johann Scheible, "Von Virgil, dem Zauberer," *Das Kloster*, II (Stuttgart: Verlag des Herausgebers, 1846), 123-155; Karl Joseph Simrock, "Eine schöne Historie von dem Zauberer Virgilius," *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, VI (Basel: B. Schwabe, [1887]), 327-390; John W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).

The Transfiguration of the Sibyl

Cornelia C. Coulter

Miss Coulter of Mt. Holyoke, past president of the American Philological Association, will tell us next month how consultation of the Sibylline Books became a racket; and will bring us into the more familiar world of Cicero, Vergil and Horace.

I

THROUGH THE WHOLE COURSE of Roman history, from the legendary days when a mysterious old woman was said to have appeared before King Tarquin with books of prophecies for sale,¹ down to the time when Rome was tottering under the attacks of barbarian hordes, and Stilicho (himself a Vandal, but the most powerful man in the Roman world) ordered the destruction of the Sibylline Books,² the Sibyl and her oracles play an important part. Their significance comes out most clearly in the period between the expulsion of the kings and the celebration of the Secular Games under Augustus in 17 B.C.; and it is accordingly with this restricted portion of their history that the present study is concerned.³

The Sibyl was not a native of Italy. Her name is probably Semitic,⁴ and the earliest allusion to her in literature (a fragment of Heraclitus preserved by Plutarch) describes her as uttering her prophecies "with frenzied lips."⁵ She was therefore akin to the "divine intoxicates" who appeared among the Phoenicians and Canaanites in Old Testament times, and to the "prophets" of Israel in the days of King Saul and King Ahab, who, "garbed in flowing mantles of skin or goat's-hair, . . . stepping to the wild music of psaltery, timbrel, pipe, and harp, . . . 'prophesied' in divinely impassioned frenzy."⁶

It is probable that the original home of the Sibyl was at Marpeessos, in the Troad, and that from here her name and her fame spread to other parts of the ancient world.⁷ Legends

connected her with the god Apollo, and told of her great age (years as many as the grains in a heap of sand) and of her journeying to places as widely separated as Samos, Claros in Ionia, Delos, and Delphi; and even attempted to distinguish between ten or a dozen different Sibyls, located at as many different sites.⁸

From one of the Greek cities associated with the Sibyl (most probably from Kymê on the island of Euboea) her story was carried by early settlers to Cumae in Italy; and here her cult was superimposed upon that of a very ancient *numen* which was believed to have its seat in an underground cavern and to send forth from a rock of this cave words of guidance for mortals.⁹ From Cumae, probably about the close of the sixth century B.C., and probably through the mediation of Etruscans living in Campania, some utterances of the Sibyl were carried to Rome.¹⁰ Other sayings of hers may have been brought there later, and oracles from other sources may have been combined with these,¹¹ to make the collection which is referred to throughout the historic period as the Sibylline Books.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his account of Roman antiquities, said that of all the sacred possessions of the Romans none was so carefully guarded as the oracles of the Sibyl.¹² They were kept in a stone chest beneath the floor of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and were under the protection of special guardians—at first, a commission of two men appointed to deal with a particular situation; later, a permanent, self-perpetuating board of

ten; and, later still, a board of fifteen, elected by the popular assembly.¹³ The form of their title, *duumviri* (or *decenviri* or *quindecimviri*) *sacris faciundis*, suggests that they were expected to have an active share in whatever ritual was carried on,¹⁴ and we actually find them, on certain occasions, taking part in processions and sacrifices and prescribing the form of prayer to be used;¹⁵ but their most important function was to preserve, and to consult at the bidding of senate or dictator, the "Books of Fate" in which directions for these religious observances could be found. So sacred was the guardianship of the oracles that any member of the Board who betrayed his trust and revealed the contents of the Books was regarded as a thing unclean, and was put to death by the form of execution ordinarily meted out to parricides and to Vestals who had broken their vows.¹⁶

The Books of the Sibyl, Dionysius tells us, were consulted only by express order of the senate or the dictator, at times of great public calamity, such as an uprising in the city or an overwhelming defeat in war, or when signs and prodigies appeared which seemed of great importance and were hard to interpret.¹⁷ At such times it seemed clear that the gods were displeased with the Roman state—the *pax deorum*, to use the Romans' own phrase, had been disturbed—and it was essential to find out by what means the divine displeasure could be averted. The answer to this question was sought in the Sibylline Books, and was found there (so the Romans themselves testified) in passages of Greek hexameter verse, composed in an intricate acrostic form, the initial letters of successive verses spelling out the words of the first verse.¹⁸ Only three oracles of the Sibyl have come down to us in what purports to be their original wording;¹⁹ the others have been preserved in Latin translation, or in a paraphrase, more or less exact, in Greek or Latin prose.²⁰ From these quotations it would appear that the utterances of the Sibyl were not, as a rule, couched in the mysterious words and ambiguous phrases that we ordinarily associate with oracles, but that, like the

voice that issued from the Alban Mount in the days of Tullus Hostilius, they gave clear and definite instructions about things that the Roman people should do. Various consultations of the Sibylline Books are recorded by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the list would undoubtedly be longer if Livy's history were preserved entire. As it is, we can supplement the narratives of Livy and Dionysius by certain sections of Cassius Dio and by items in writers like Pliny the Elder, Frontinus, Julius Obsequens, and St. Augustine. The total number of consultations recorded for the Republican period is over fifty, and the incidents reveal exceedingly interesting tendencies, which shift from age to age.

In its relation to the Sibylline Books, the history of Republican Rome falls into four clearly defined periods, the first extending from the expulsion of the kings to the beginning of the Second Punic War, the second ending with the close of that war, the third with the burning of the Capitoline temple in 83 B.C., and the fourth with the fall of the Republic itself.

The period immediately following the expulsion of the kings is marked by the introduction of a number of gods hitherto unfamiliar to the Romans and by certain innovations in ritual. Both the new ritual and the new divinities are Greek; and this fact is in itself important, since it seems to show that the Romans, in their eagerness to emancipate themselves from the hated Etruscan rule, were making independent contacts with their Greek neighbors to the south.²¹ It suggests also a realization of the comparative bareness of early Roman religion, and a desire to bring into it something more satisfying to the soul and to the senses. And it also suggests very strikingly that the patrician group who managed the consultation of the oracles were conscious of the plebeian element in the population. The tension between these two groups was most marked at the beginning of the Republican period, when the Roman nobles, who had regained control after the downfall of the Tarquins, held all the military, executive, and judicial power, while

the humble laboring classes (including many "outsiders" whom the Etruscan kings had imported to carry out their great building programs) were left without protectors, and in a position, not only of political helplessness, but of actual physical want.²²

The first consultation of the Sibylline Books that is recorded after the expulsion of the Tarquins seems to have been the direct outcome of the suffering of the lower classes; and the measures adopted were evidently directed, at least in part, toward quieting their discontent. According to Dionysius, the incident occurred when King Porsenna of Clusium was trying to restore the Tarquins to the throne, and several of the Latin towns had allied themselves with him. The dictator Postumius, as he was about to set out to war against these combined forces, discovered a serious shortage of food: the ground was unproductive, and, because of war conditions, it was impossible to import supplies. Postumius ordered an inspection of the Sibylline Books, and the *duumviri* reported that Demeter, Dionysus, and Korê were the deities to be propitiated. Accordingly he vowed a temple and yearly sacrifices, on condition that the coming season should be a favorable one for crops, and then marched forth to battle. The famine was averted, fields and orchards produced abundantly, and large quantities of grain were imported as well. Postumius returned victorious from the battle of Lake Regillus, celebrated a magnificent triumph, and arranged for the building of the temple.²³ This temple was dedicated in 493 to the three gods, under the names of the native deities with whom they were equated (Ceres, Liber, and Libera), and a Greek-speaking priestess was brought to Rome from Southern Italy to take charge of their worship.²⁴ The ceremonies were conducted in the Greek manner—which meant not only that the officiating priestess sacrificed with her head uncovered, instead of having it veiled, as the Romans regularly did, but that the whole populace took part in the celebration. We have no record of the ritual employed on this occasion, but

it is perhaps legitimate to reconstruct it from what we know of the worship of these three gods on Greek soil: the blazing torches, the music of flutes, the garlands of myrtle and ivy worn by priestess and worshippers; the prayers to Demeter and Persephone, in a language strange yet beautiful to Roman ears, the mysterious cry, *Ἰακχ'*, ὦ *Ἰακχε*, *Ἰακχ'*, ὦ *Ἰακχε*, with its haunting bacchiac rhythm.²⁵ All this must have produced a profound effect on the Roman populace, particularly on the plebeians, who up to this moment had had no part whatever in any public religious ceremonies. And when we add the fact that the temple was erected at the foot of the Aventine Hill, in a district where the plebeians themselves lived, and was put under the care of plebeian aediles, it seems clear that the introduction of Ceres and her associates embodied a genuine attempt at reconciliation.

That this attempt was only partly successful is clear from Livy's account of the years immediately following Postumius' campaign. Violent protests were registered by the plebeians against compulsory military service and against the action of patrician judges in condemning plebeians to slavery for debt; secret meetings of the plebs were held on the Esquiline and the Aventine; and finally the whole plebeian population left the city, and could be induced to return only by the promise that they should have magistrates of their own (*tribuni plebis*) to safeguard their rights.²⁶

The next consultation of the oracles is likewise connected with the plebeians; but the report seems to have been planned to intimidate, rather than reconcile, them. In 462 and 461 one of the tribunes inveighed against the tyranny of the consuls, and finally introduced a bill intended to rid the state of their domination. In 462 it had been reported that an ox had spoken, but the officials of the state had taken no cognizance of the rumor; in 461 this phenomenon was reported again, and with it other dire portents: the heavens blazing, a terrible earthquake, a rain of blood. The *duumviri* opened the Sacred Books, and found

there a prophecy of danger "from the gathering together of people of foreign birth," which might lead to "an attack on the highest places of the city and consequent bloodshed." Various warnings were issued to the people, among others, "that they should refrain from seditious agitation." The tribunes, Livy says, made the charge that all this was done to prevent the passage of the law;²⁷ and a violent conflict started which did not come to an end until the codification of the laws of the city ten years later.

Other Greek divinities were brought to Rome in this early period. It is possible that the Sibylline Books sponsored the addition to the state cult of Mercury and Neptune (who were identified respectively with Hermes and Poseidon);²⁸ and it seems highly probable that they were responsible for the introduction of Apollo, to whom a temple was vowed *pro valetudine populi* in 433, during the ravages of a terrible plague that affected both men and beasts.²⁹

One hundred and forty years later, when another dreadful pestilence was laying waste the city and the country round about, an oracle was discovered in the Sibylline Books, advising that the god Aesculapius be brought to Rome. Accordingly a delegation set sail for Epidaurus; a snake which was believed to be the "sign" of the god was taken on board and brought back to Italy; and a temple was founded on the island in the Tiber where the snake chose to disembark.³⁰ This temple in its turn must have made as strong an appeal to the common people as the worship of Ceres had made two hundred years before, for various strange and interesting practices were brought with the god from Epidaurus: the keeping of dogs and snakes in the temple, the healing of sickness by incubation, the dedication of votive offerings representing the part of the body that had once been diseased and now was whole.

A similar appeal to the emotions must have come from a new bit of ritual, also due to the Sibylline Books, the *lectisternium*. When, in 399, a pestilence was raging uncontrolled, without apparent cause or limit, the

duumviri recommended a Greek rite that had never been observed in Rome before: a banquet was prepared and couches were magnificently spread for six divinities (Apollo, Latona, and Diana; Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune); the images of the gods were placed as though they were actually partaking of the food; and here they stayed for eight days.³¹ Livy says that the same rite was carried on by private citizens in their own homes; and the whole picturesque ceremony may have helped to take the minds of the people from their own sorrow and suffering. Perhaps it was the same element of picturesqueness that led to the use, in celebrations prescribed by the Sibylline Books, of the old Italic ceremony of the *supplicatio*, in which women, with hair unbound, visited the shrines of the gods and offered prayer, with their long tresses sweeping the altars.³²

It is probable that the Sibylline Books were responsible, in 364 B.C., for the first theatrical performance in Rome (*ludi scaenici*), in which actors from Etruria, "without any song, or gesticulations to accompany song, dancing to the music of the flute, made graceful movements in the manner of the Etruscans";³³ and that they were also responsible, in 348, for the institution of the *Ludi Tarentini*, performed at a spot called Terentum (or Tarentum) in the Campus Martius.³⁴ It was certainly on their advice that these *Ludi* were repeated in 249 and were made a permanent festival, the *Ludi Saeculares*, to be held every hundred years;³⁵ and also that, in 238, the goddess Flora (who had been known to the Romans from early times) received the honor of a temple on the Aventine and public games.³⁶

In all the innovations of this early period, the emotional element is strong. In the majority of them, Greek influence can be clearly seen. And the location of the temples of two of the divinities, Ceres and Flora, in the plebeian quarter on the Aventine, suggests a particularly close connection with the plebs.

Through the first two centuries of the Republic, therefore, the oracles of the Sibyl seem linked in various ways with the lot of

the common people; they are used to intimidate or to conciliate the plebs, to introduce ceremonies that they would find attractive or interesting, or to give them an outlet for their emotions. By the close of this period, however, the situation of the plebeians had changed: their long struggle had not only given them tribunes to protect their rights, and the privilege of intermarriage with the patricians, but had made them eligible for various religious offices. Chief among these offices, in the eyes of both patricians and plebeians, was the position of Keeper of the Sacred Books. Livy undoubtedly gives an accurate picture of the feeling of the times when he describes the satisfaction of the plebeians in 367 at the passage of the law replacing the duumvirate by a board of ten (five patricians and five plebeians), and when he represents a speaker in 300 B.C., during the debate over the *Lex Ogulnia*, which opened up the offices of pontiff and augur to the plebs, as saying that the plebeians were already "in possessione unius amplissimi sacerdotii."³⁷ From the year 367 on the plebeians have a share in the interpretation of the Sibylline Books; and when, in later periods, the oracles hint at a distinction between classes, it is no longer between patricians and plebeians, but between the new patrician-plebeian nobility and the common people.

With the beginning of the Second Punic War the number of consultations increases rapidly, and reports of prodigies come thick and fast. Through the terrible years when Hannibal was making his memorable march across the Alps, inflicting diastrophic defeats on the Romans at the Trebia, Trasimene, and Cannae, and laying waste the peninsula like a destructive fire, portent after portent was reported, and the decemvirs went through the procedure of consulting the Books and following their directions with scrupulous care.³⁸ In 218, shortly after the battle of the Trebia, strange sights were reported from nearby cities like Lanuvium and Caere, and from Picenum and Gaul, while in Rome itself a six-months-old child was said to have shouted "Io Triumphe," and an ox was re-

ported to have climbed to the third story of a house, and then, frightened by the excited noise of the inhabitants, to have thrown itself down; ships appeared to be shining in the sky; and the temple of Spes in the *Forum Holitorium* was struck by lightning.³⁹

In dealing with these prodigies, the decemvirs ordered a repetition of some of the old familiar ceremonies, particularly the *supplicatio* and the *lectisternium* (the latter with some changes of detail). In addition, sacrifices more numerous and costly than had usually been offered in the past, and gifts of great splendor, were prescribed. So, in the year 217, a votive offering to Jupiter was decreed of a golden thunderbolt weighing fifty pounds; gifts of silver were made to Juno and Minerva, and full-grown animals were sacrificed to Juno Regina on the Aventine and to Juno Sospita at Lanuvium; a *lectisternium* was held; full-grown victims were sacrificed in the forum at Ardea; and finally there was a sacrifice at the temple of Saturn, another *lectisternium*, and a public banquet.⁴⁰

All this might have served to distract the minds even of a people in terror at the approach of Hannibal; but in the next few years still more splendid ceremonies were introduced. In 212, games were vowed and celebrated in honor of Apollo, *victoriae*, *non valetudinis ergo*, and sacrifices were made of animals with gilded horns to Apollo and Larentia.⁴¹

In the directions for this sacrifice, the statement is specifically made that it is to be done "according to Greek ritual"; and Greek influence is even more evident in the next important bit of ceremonial: a hymn in honor of Juno sung by a chorus of maidens in 207. Livy describes it as follows:

Two white heifers were led from the temple of Apollo through the *Porta Carmentalis* into the city; behind them were borne two statues of Juno Regina, made of cypress wood. Then came twenty-seven maidens, dressed in long robes, singing a hymn in honor of Juno Regina The maidens were followed by the decemvirs, crowned with laurel and wearing the toga praetexta. From the *Porta Carmentalis* they came by the *Vicus Jugarius* into the Forum. In the Forum

the procession stopped, and the maidens, passing a rope from hand to hand, moved forward, accompanying the sound of their voices by beating time with their feet. Then they went by way of the *Vicus Tuscus* and the *Velabrum* to the *Clivus Publicius* and the temple of *Iuno Regina*. There the two heifers were sacrificed by the *decemvirs* and the cypress statues were carried into the temple.⁴²

The climax of the sensational was reached in the year 204, when verses were discovered in the Sibylline Books announcing that "whenever a foreign enemy should make war upon the land of Italy, he could be driven out of Italy and conquered if the *Mater Idaea* were brought from Pessinus to Rome." The delegation commissioned to bring the Great Mother from her home first visited Delphi, and was there instructed to seek the aid of King Attalus of Pergamum. He gave them a kindly welcome, and handed over to them "the sacred stone which the inhabitants said was the mother of the gods." The goddess was escorted in state to Ostia, where she was received by "the noblest man in Rome," Publius Scipio, and by the foremost matrons of the city, who carried the goddess into the temple of Victory on the Palatine. The whole population of the city thronged to meet her; censers of burning incense were placed at the doors of the houses past which she was borne, and the solemn prayer was uttered that she would willingly and kindly enter the city of Rome.⁴³

The introduction of the *Magna Mater* may have been due to a desire to cement the friendship between the Romans and King Attalus of Pergamum. It may have been influenced, too, by the conception that was just then gaining favor, of the Romans as descendants of the Trojans; for according to this theory the *Mater Idaea* would have been the protectress of the Romans from days of old, and bringing her to Rome would mean reuniting her with her own. Whatever the motive, this incident, which marks the high peak of the influence of the Sibylline Books, at the same time marks the beginning of their decline. The Roman senators were

not prepared for the orgiastic worship of Cybele by her eunuch priests. When they discovered the true nature of her rites, they passed a decree that no Roman citizen should take part in them, and diverted the worship into a harmless channel by instituting dramatic performances on her festival.

NOTES

¹ Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 4.62.1-4; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* 1.19; Lact., *Inst. Div.* 1.6.10-11. The story evidently goes back to Varro.

² Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo*, 2.39-42, 51-60.

³ I should like to express my indebtedness to Miss Isabelle Brown, whose M.A. thesis at Mount Holyoke College has been concerned with the Sibylline Books, and to whose careful collection and intelligent weighing of evidence this paper owes a great deal. The present study does not pretend to be exhaustive. I have (e.g.) omitted the self-sacrifice of Marcus Curtius, recorded for the year 362 B.C. (Dion. Hal. 14.11.1-5; cf. Livy 7.6.1-5); the burial alive in the Forum Boarium in 228 of two Greeks and two Gauls (Cassius Dio, Fr. 50; Zonaras, 8.19; Tzetzes in Lycophr., *Alex.* 603 and 1096; Plut., *Marc.* 3.4) and a similar incident in 216 (Livy 22.57.6); and a number of consultations in the second century B.C. that seem to follow an established pattern.

⁴ Rzach in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Sibyllen," col. 2075. The exact derivation of the word is uncertain.

⁵ Fr. 92 [12] in H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1934). Cf. Pausanias 10.12.3.

⁶ Carleton Noyes, *The Genius of Israel* (Boston and New York, 1924) 327-329. Cf. I. Sam. 10.5-10; I Kings 20.35-41.

⁷ Buchholz in Roscher's *Lexicon* s.v. "Sibylla," col. 795. Cf. W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911) 257; A. S. Pease, ed. of Cic., *De Div.* 1 (*University of Illinois Studies in Languages and Literature* 6) 51.

⁸ Paus. 10.12.2-7; Ovid, *Met.* 14.130-153; Lact., *Inst. Div.* 1.6.7-12. Cf. Frazer on Paus. 10.12.1 and Pease, loc. cit.

⁹ F. Altheim, *History of Roman Religion* (New York [1938]) 38-39; 351-352. Cf. the oracles of Faunus, the father of Latinus (*fatidicus genitor*), given in the sacred grove near the sulphurous spring of Albunea (Verg., *Aen.* 7.81-101), and the mighty voice heard from the grove at the summit of the Alban Mount, directing the people of Alba Longa who had removed to Rome to perform sacrifices according to the ritual of their fathers (Livy 1.31.1-3). Note that Pausanias (10.12.2 and 5) mentions a rock at Delphi, on which the Sibyl stood when she chanted her prophecies; and cf. Frazer *ad loc.*

¹⁰ Fowler, *op. cit.*, 242; Altheim, *op. cit.*, 241. Cf. J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig,

1885) 3.352-353, where evidence is presented to show that the collection of oracles brought from Cumae to Rome was of Erythraean origin. Note that in Livy 1.7.8 the Sibyl is mentioned as a comparative latecomer to Italy.

¹¹ E.g., the two *Carmina Marciana*, which were probably added in 212 B.C. Cf. Livy, 25.12.1-10; Macrobi., Sat. 1.17.27-29; and Altheim, loc. cit. (note 10).

¹² Dion. Hal. 4.62.5.

¹³ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (München, 1912) 534-535; Fowler, op. cit., 259. Cf. Dion. Hal. 4.62.4; Livy 5.13.6 (*duumviri*); 6.37.12 (*decemviri*). The first mention of *quinddecemviri* is in a letter of Caelius to Cicero written in 51 B.C., but it has been generally assumed that the increase to this number dates from the time of Sulla. For the procedure in elections of the later period, see L. R. Taylor, "The Election of the *Pontifex Maximus* in the Late Republic," CP 37 (1942) 421, with the literature there cited.

¹⁴ Cf. such titles as *Xviri stlitibus iudicandis*; *Illviri auro argento aere flando feriundo*.

¹⁵ E.g., Livy 4.21.5; 25.12.13; 27.37.13-15; 37.3.6. On the powers of the *decemviri*, see A. A. Boyce, "The Development of the *Decemviri Sacris Faciundis*," TAPA 69 (1938) 161-187.

¹⁶ Dion. Hal. 4.62.4; Zonaras 7.11. On the punishment of parricides and Vestals cf. H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (London, 1926) 183-192.

¹⁷ Dion. Hal. 4.62.5; cf. Livy 22.9.8.

¹⁸ Cic., Div. 2.54.111-112. Cf. A. S. Pease, ed. of Div. 2 (op. cit. note 7, vol. 8) ad loc.; and Cary's note on Dion. Hal. 4.62.6 (Loeb ed.).

¹⁹ Preserved by Phlegon, a freedman of the emperor Hadrian, who lived in the first half of the second century A.D. Text in H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin, 1890) 111-115 and 133-135; and in *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin, 1923-40) 2B, Fr. 36.X (1179-1182) and Fr. 37.V (1189-1191). The third oracle, which was composed for the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C., is also preserved in Zosimus 2.6. The first two oracles (which are both fragmentary) show traces of the acrostic form; the third is not acrostic, but may have preserved some verses from an earlier acrostic oracle. See Diels 18.28-33.

²⁰ E.g., Livy 3.10.7; Cassius Dio 39.15.2.

²¹ Cf. Tenney Frank, *History of Rome* (New York, 1923) 52-53; Altheim, op. cit., 268-270.

²² Cf. Fowler, *Roman Festivals* (London, 1899) 75-77; Frank, op. cit., 37-40; M. Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1926-27) 2.27 and 37-38.

²³ Dion. Hal. 6.17.2-3; cf. Livy 2.19.1-21.4. The battle is usually dated in 496 B.C. Livy himself notes that the chronology of this early period is uncertain.

²⁴ Cic. Balb. 24.55; Dion. Hal. 6.94.3; Val. Max. 1.1.1.

²⁵ Cf. Aristophanes *Frogs*, 312-459.

²⁶ Livy 2.23-33. Livy dates the secession in 494 B.C.

²⁷ Livy 3.9-10.

²⁸ J. B. Carter, *Religion of Numa* (London, 1906) 77-80, and *Religious Life of the Romans* (Boston and

New York, 1911) 41-42, makes more positive statements about the association of these two divinities with the Sibylline Books than the evidence warrants. See Altheim, op. cit. 519, n. 9.

²⁹ Livy 4.25.3. There is some question whether the introduction of Apollo preceded or followed that of the Sibylline Books. An *Apollinare* (apparently a small shrine dedicated to the god) was in existence as early as 449 B.C., when the senate held a meeting there (Livy 3.63.7). Altheim, op. cit., 242, notes the close connection between Apollo and the oracle of the Sibyl, and says: "Not only does the date of the reception of Apollo agree with that of the Sibylline Books, but the god, like them, probably came to Rome through Etruscan influence."

³⁰ Livy 10.47.6-7, and Book xi, *Periocha*.

³¹ Livy 5.13.5-8; cf. Fowler, *Religious Experience*, 268, n. 42.

³² Cf. Livy 3.7.7-8 (462 B.C.), where the phrase *supplicatum ire* is used, although the noun *supplicatio* does not appear; and a similar description in Livy 26.9.7 (211 B.C.). A *supplicatio* was held in 292 B.C. in honor of Aesculapius (Livy 10.47.7), and the rite was repeated by order of the *decemviri*, the *haruspices*, or the *pontifices*, on various other occasions in later years. On the antiquity of the ritual, cf. Festus, s.v. *pelices* (248L) and Fowler, *Religious Experience*, 269, n. 43.

³³ Livy 7.2.1-4. Livy does not mention either the *decemviri* or the Sibylline Books, but his account of the pestilence and the measures taken to relieve it suggests the same sequence of events as in the years 433, 399, 293.

³⁴ See L. R. Taylor, "New Light on the History of the Secular Games," *AJP* 55 (1934) 101-120. Censorinus, D.N. 17.8 (quoting Varro) and Zosimus, 2.4 (cf. also Livy 49, *Periocha*) identify these *Ludi* with sacrifices to Dis and Proserpina at an altar in the Campus Martius, and this identification has been accepted by most modern scholars (e.g., Altheim, op. cit., 287-288, 354, who describes the *Ludi Tarentini* as the 'burial' of the old era); but Miss Taylor argues convincingly that these games and the sacrifices in honor of Dis and Proserpina really had nothing to do with each other, and that the confusion between the two ceremonies may have been due to efforts of some member of the Valerius family to glorify his ancestors by connecting the games first celebrated in the consulship of M. Valerius Corvinus with the sacrifices at the family altar of the Valerii in the Campus Martius.

³⁵ Cf. Livy Book XLIX, *Periocha*; Augustine, Civ. Dei, 3.18; and Taylor, op. cit.

³⁶ Pliny N.H., 18.29.286; cf. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 91-95. For the special features of the festival as celebrated under the Empire, see Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.946; 5.331-374; Lactantius, Inst. Div., 1.20.10.

³⁷ Livy 6.42.2-3; 10.8.1-2. Quintus Ogulnius, one of the two brothers who, as tribunes, proposed the law, later headed the delegation that brought Aesculapius from Epidaurus (Livy 10.6.3-6; 47.7; Val. Max. 1.8.2).

Classical Articles In Non-Classical Periodicals . . .

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY 32 (1949).—(September: 80-96 and one plate) Eric G. Turner and Otto Neugebauer, "Gymnasium Debts and New Moons." "The papyrus here published (P. Ryl. Inv. 666) is of considerable interest for its information on Greek astronomy in the early second century B.C., and is therefore presented in the Bulletin, on the invitation of the late Dr. Guppy, in advance of its appearance in the fourth volume of the Catalogue of Papyri." (97-133 and two plates) T. B. L. Webster, "The Masks of Greek Comedy." The article proper (pp. 97-120) is followed by Appendix A (pp. 121-126, a table showing the "Attribution of Male Masks in New Comedy to Households" and a section "Notes to Table") and Appendix B (pp. 126-133, "Identification of Masks in Pollux' List"). Of the many points which Webster makes here note the following: (1) In a number of "representations of New Comedy scenes" the system "of distinguishing households by hairdressing seems to be upheld." (2) "The developed system of New Comedy masks emphasises the contrasts which the poet wants to point between characters differing in age, household, position, or sex. Menander makes perhaps the fullest use of this technique; . . ." (3) "It is generally accepted that Menander gave an entirely new and sympathetic interpretation of certain traditionally satiric characters, notably the soldier . . . , the rich hetaira . . . , and probably also the flatterer He does not seem to have invented new masks for these, but rather to have played on the contrast between the original mask and the new conception of the character." (4) "We can form some idea of the masks of the animal choruses of the Old Comedy from the masks worn by the earlier animal dancers who are represented on vases." (5) It seems unlikely that there were as many different masks as characters in the Aristophanic comedies with large casts. "It would obviously be convenient in the *Acharnians* if the ambassador wore the same mask as Theoros, and the Megarian the same mask as the Boeotian (all four parts according to van Leeuwen were taken by the second actor) and if the sycophant, Nikarchos, and

the servant of Lamachos and the two messengers wore the same mask (all parts taken by the third actor)"

CAHIERS DE LITTÉRATURE COMPARÉE I (1948).—(41-49) Charles Marôt, "La fonction poétique de l'énumération épique." A study by Mr. Marôt, professor of ancient history at the University of Budapest, of the poetic function of the catalogue in an epic. Marôt is mainly concerned with Homer, but Vergil and various Hungarian poets come in for a fair amount of discussion.

We find in Homer, especially in the *Iliad*, a remarkable aptness for striking a good balance; an indispensable quantity of subjectivity has been combined with a maximum of objectivity. Macrobius points out Homer's technique of inserting little stories etc. "post difficilium rerum vel nominum narrationem"; Vergil, thanks to his excellent poetic sense, imitated this Homeric device. The objective side of the epic allows for boring battle scenes, enumerations of names and other data, etc. The catalogue has a poetic function; and the *Boeotia* should be attributed to Homer, despite all those who have maintained that it is spurious.

Homer and Vergil do not conform to any definite geographical order or social hierarchy in writing their catalogues, nor do the Hungarian poets Arany and Vörösmarty. The Greeks in post-Homeric times considered the *Boeotia* their *Adelslexikon*, to use Wilamowitz' term; and the catalogues of Vergil and Arany have a patriotic purpose. But, though the stimulation of national pride may form an accessory element, it is by no means the *primum movens* of the catalogue.

Even in other literary types than the epic—the novel, for example—we find catalogues preserving some of their primitive function, in spite of the greater romantic element in these genres. *Tortilla Flat* is a case in point. The list of characters whom we meet in the last chapter, devoted to Danny's burial, serves to underline the actual, objective side of Steinbeck's story.

DURHAM UNIVERSITY JOURNAL 42 (1950).—(March: 41-47) N. E. Collinge, "*Medea versus Socrates*." "Because the *Medea* is not as successful an expression of the anti-Socratic view as Euripides may have hoped, the last scene is unsatisfactory; but not because it attempts to involve the Sun or other natural forces in the action. It is unsatisfactory because *Medea*, though she should be herself a victim of τὸ ἀλογον, is also the vehicle of that power, and must be swung

clear from the ruin because τὸ ἄλογον does not destroy itself. Being out of Jason's reach yet within his sight she represents at the end the irrational force out of the reach of reasoning man (compare the position of Dionysus at the end of the *Bacchae*), and the crescendo of unresolved hate with which the play closes represents the unending war of reason and unreason, to which there is no answer."

ENGLISH 7 (1949).—(Autumn: 266-270) E. L. Black, "Burton the Anatomist." See the first part of this article for a discussion of (1) Burton's original plan to write *The Anatomy of Melancholy* in Latin, (2) the very Latinate English in which he finally wrote it, and (3) the Latin and neo-Latin words imported into the English language by Shakespeare and Burton.

FOLK-LORE 60 (1949).—(December: 393-395) E. O. Winstedt, "Milesian Tales." "The two tales in the *Decamerone* (v, 10; vii, 2), which are almost literal translations of tales in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius," were doubtless taken directly from that work by Boccaccio; oral tradition is a less satisfactory source. Similarly, "the reappearance of a tale or two, which occur in Aristophanes, in the verses of Adolphus, who wrote at Vienna in 1315, is not in itself proof of the existence of those tales in oral traditions from the fifth century B.C. up to that date."

GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL 115 (1950).—(June: 161-178 and five plates) R. G. Goodchild, "Roman Tripolitania: Reconnaissance in the Desert Frontier Zone." Pp. 161-171: Mr. Goodchild's paper on his investigation of the frontier zone of Tripolitania, the *limes Tripolitanus*, in the years 1946-1949, during most of which time he was Antiquities Officer with the British Military Administrations in Libya. (This section contains the plates—e.g., a Roman fortified farm on Tarhuna Gebel; Roman olive presses at Snemat, Wadi Merdun; Romano-Libyan funerary monuments at Mselletin, Wadi Merdun; reapers on a relief from Ghirza; Romano-Libyan mausolea at Ghirza—and two maps.) The archaeological relics of inner Tripolitania represent a mixture of "Mediterranean and Saharan elements." There are no traces of cities, and "the only known villages are those which sprang up along the Roman road which passed along the crest of the Gebel." The remains are usually Roman farm-houses, mausolea, series of terrace-walls, and sometimes Roman dams. "The main period of settlement south of the Gebel seems . . . to fall

within the margins A.D. 200-900, and thus to have continued long after the Roman frontier had ceased to exist." Pp. 171-175: A report of the discussion which followed Mr. Goodchild's reading of his paper. See this for the distinction made between the civilization of the coastal cities and that of the inland area, "where the Roman genius for improvisation is so strikingly apparent"; for the problems connected with making a new map of Libya; etc. Pp. 175-178: An appendix on "The cartography of the region" and "Existing motor-routes."

HARVARD LIBRARY BULLETIN 3 (1949).—(Autumn: 431-434) John J. Enck, "John Owen's *Epigrammata*." The bibliographical problems connected with the various editions of Owen's Latin *Epigrammata* in the early seventeenth century. (441-445) Frederick C. Packard, "The Harvard Vocabulary Discs." See p. 441, n. 2, for Mr. Packard's account of his coinage "vocabulary" and pp. 444-445 for discs of Latin readings. The 10 discs of Album 2 are described as follows: "Supplementary Selections: Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Catullus, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Livy, Ovid, Martial, Juvenal, Pliny, Tacitus, Apuleius, and St. Augustine (Fifteen readers, chiefly members of the Harvard Department of the Classics)"; the note *ad loc.* says: "Each album is accompanied by a booklet containing full text and translation reprinted from the Loeb Classical Library, together with commentaries on the selections by E. K. Rand."—4 (1950).—(Winter: 110-111) Marvin L. Colker, "A Harvard Manuscript Containing Ovid's *Tristia*." The Harvard manuscript Lat. 42F, "written in fifteenth-century humanistic script by three scribes," contains, *inter alia*, the text of the *Tristia* (190v-248r), to which Colker assigns the siglum M. M, which is one of the *deteriores*, "is closely related to the Bolognese *principes* of 1471 . . . and its 1480 reprint . . ." In fact, the many readings which Owen attributed to Puteolanus since they are peculiar to these two editions, now seem to have been "already present in a poor manuscript recension." (Spring: 141-171 and four plates) Ethel B. Clark, "The Founders Room Library at Dumbarton Oaks." See the descriptions or mention of copies of the following books: a Valerius Maximus "printed at Lyons by Gryphus in 1550"; "*Roma subterranea* of Antonio Bosio, Rome, 1651"; "*Pietas et gratulatio collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos*, Boston, 1761 [1762]"; "the Leconte de Lisle *Iliade*, 1867, and *Odyssee*, 1868" (254-258 and two plates) Zeph Stewart, "An Eighth-

Century Fragment of Jerome." "This fragment was one of nine manuscripts used by Hilberg in establishing the text of the *Epistula ad Heli-odorum* for the Vienna Corpus . . . A comparison of the original with Hilberg's account of its readings occasions considerable misgivings regarding his accuracy."

IRAQ 12 (1950).—(Spring: 44-51) E. S. G. Robinson, "A 'Silversmith's Hoard' from Mesopotamia." A fuller account of some coins and other objects which were very briefly described in 1922 in Budge's *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*. A number of the coins are Greek. "There are no Athenian coins . . . of the later style which began to appear when Athens resumed her coinage about 394 B.C., after the break caused by the stresses of the Peloponnesian War, though there are several of the fifth century. There is a single piece of the reformed coinage of Aegina which followed the conclusion of peace between Sparta and Athens in 404. This, with the coins of Arados, Tyre and Sidon (which are the latest in the hoard) all belong in the early part of the first quarter of the fourth century; the remainder, the bulk of the find, was struck in the fifth."

"The hoard then, to conclude from the coins, was put away about the middle of the first quarter of the fourth century."

LANGUAGE 26 (1950).—(January-March: 6-27) Robert A. Hall, Jr., "The Reconstruction of Proto-Romance." A plea for the re-application of the comparative method by Romance scholars, though not, of course, to the neglect of either synchronic analysis or "the direct study of historical data such as documents and texts." The use of the comparative method will prevent such misconceptions as equating "Vulgar Latin" with Proto-Romance. "If we wish to keep and use the term 'Vulgar Latin,' it would be well to restrict it to the sense of Proto-Italo-Western Romance. . . . Certainly it is not conducive to clarity to use" it "to apply indiscriminately to all material written in Latin since Classical times, since the degree to which popular speech is reflected in such documents varies greatly and is anything but trustworthy. 'Late Latin' is a much better term for this type of material, since it implies no judgment as to the accuracy with which the writing reflects everyday usage."

As for "Proto-Romance," it is the "sister" rather than the "daughter" of Classical Latin and can be fairly well placed in time; "the period

of the late Republic and the early Empire (Augustan era)" seems the most suitable.

LAROUSSE MENSUEL 12 (1950).—(Février: 407-409) Marcel Leglay, "Les nouvelles fouilles d'Ostie et de Pompéi." A brief account of the history of the excavations at Ostia and Pompeii, especially in recent years. At Ostia the area excavated in 1938 brought to light six baths; now one can visit 14, a rather impressive number for a population of 50,000; some of them are really grandiose establishments. The most important discoveries, however, relate to ancient religion in its various aspects: five small sanctuaries give evidence of special devotion to the Bona Dea, Silvanus, and Serapis; fourteen Mithraea show how extensive the influence of the Iranian god was in the West in the first Christian centuries.

Though the excavations carried out latterly at Pompeii are less extensive than those of Ostia, still they have yielded very important results for the history of the city from the archaic period to the last years of its existence. It has now been shown, for instance, that the "casa del gallo" was constructed on the ruins of a more ancient dwelling (2nd century); this in turn was built on a house of the 4th or 3rd century; under the latter blocks of lava belonging to an archaic building have been discovered. The "casa del gallo" dates from the beginnings of the Sullan colony. This period, marked at Pompeii by an important development of public edifices (amphitheatre, baths of the Forum, etc.), also saw the rapid rise of new private constructions when the veterans enriched by Sulla's proscriptions arrived.

LIFE 28 (1950).—(March 27: 65-79, 82, 85) "The Search for the Bones of St. Peter." Photographs made by Nat Farbman of the pagan and Christian antiquities which have been unearthed during ten years of digging under St. Peter's in Rome; a special article, "Bold Adventure Gets Rich Return," consisting of extracts from a report on the excavations written by Monsignor Ludwig Kaas. The pictures of things found in the lower grotto show the tomb of the Caetennii, "one of the richest and most lavishly decorated"; an alabaster urn from the mausoleum of the Aelii; "elaborate sarcophagi sculptured with scenes of Bacchic rites"; etc. "The excavations have confirmed convincingly the Roman tradition which closely connected Nero's Circus and the Vatican burial ground—or, in other words, the place where St. Peter was executed and the place where he was buried."

BASSETT

The Medea of Hosidius Geta

Nathan Dane II

The Bowdoin professor gives us a Vergilian oddity.

BURIED AMONG THE FIFTY-ODD *Carmina Vergiliana* of the *Anthologia Latina* and possibly the earliest extant specimen of its type is the dramatic cento, *Medea*, commonly attributed to an otherwise unknown Hosidius Geta. Its character indeed justifies its identification with the work described by Tertullian (*de praescriptione haereticorum* c. 39) in the following words: "Vides hodie ex Vergilio fabulam in totum aliam componi materia secundum versus, versibus secundum materiam concinnatis. Denique Hosidius Geta Medeam tragoediam ex Vergilio plenissime exsuxit." Although preserved only in the famous Codex Salmasianus (Parisinus 10318) which omits any title or ascription, the work aptly fits Tertullian's description. A *Medea* it is, and a tragedy too, treating the familiar theme of the more famous plays by Euripides, Ovid, Seneca and others. Finally, that it was "sucked to the full from Vergil" can not be denied, as there are only two half-lines of its 461 verses which are not traceable directly to the three major works of Vergil.

Such centos or patchwork poems, consisting of lines or half-lines of standard poets, usually Vergil, were exceedingly popular in the later Empire and certainly existed earlier. Quintilian (vi, 3, 96) refers to one on Bad Poets by Ovid composed from the tetrastichs of Aemilius Macer. The later period witnessed similar work being done by Ausonius, Falconia Proba, Mavortius, and Luxorius. In all works of this kind judgments generally vary on the degree of cleverness of the execution, but as one critic expresses it, "like a

patchwork these centos have the drawback that the seams are often too visible."¹

The reception of the *Medea* has not even been charitable. For the most part it has not been received at all. Although it was accorded the dubious honor of a separate edition and translation in 1919,² I can find no other instances of any great amount of respect being shown for the work. Dr. Kroell, writing in Pauly-Wissowa, who disposes of several other Hosidius Getas with a paragraph or two, proceeds to malign the *Medea* for over half a column. Unfortunately, however, his criticism is confined largely to the metrical infelicities, which are numerous, and the general grossness of the composition. Not a single remark is directed toward a consideration of the work as drama. In fact all critics, with the exception of its most recent editor, appear unanimously to have dismissed the work as meriting hardly more than a mere notice. Granted that all the adverse judgments of the style are well founded, it is still difficult to agree that the piece is utterly devoid of interest or value. There being so few examples of Roman treatment of tragedy left to us, we are not justified in neglecting entirely a work which, although it may be only fifth-rate in importance and completely lacking in originality, nevertheless may give us any further insight into Roman performance in the dramatic field.

Before examining the play itself, however, it is not out of place to consider in detail Tertullian's reference and the curious coincidence, which will become evident upon in-

vestigation of the sources of our author's 'inspiration.' While not arguing against the name Hosidius Geta for the author referred to, I consider that it is at least worth noting that none of the manuscripts of Tertullian names him as "Hosidius Geta." The oldest and best manuscript reads simply "Vosidius," and the others variously supply in place of this reading "Ovidius citra," "Offidius," "Osidius Geta," and "Ovidius ita." "Hosidius Geta," then, is a conjecture of editors of Tertullian, and as such it has foundation on other known persons of that name, which elsewhere in full is "Gn. Hosidius Geta." These editors restrained themselves from the obvious sequence of attempting to identify this Hosidius Geta with any of the others, because they felt our author to be contemporary with Tertullian in view of the "hodie" of the first sentence of the Tertullian passage, and because other possible candidates of that name lived considerably before Tertullian's time. Actually, however, these editors, although they may be correct in dating the *Medea*, do not appear to be entirely accurate in their interpretation. The "hodie" clearly refers to the "*aliam fabulam*" of the sentence, whereas the succeeding sentence would seem to indicate a second cento, namely the one which we are considering, but with no definite statement concerning the time of composition. A date just prior to 200 A.D., however, is most likely, nonetheless, and in the absence of any other evidence may be safely accepted.

On the other hand, the apparent weaknesses in the conjectured name of the writer justify carrying the inquiry a little further, and I should like to suggest that very nearly as strong an argument can be advanced for accepting the reading of one of the other manuscripts, namely "Ovidius ita," or better still, a combination of other manuscripts, as "Ovidius Geta." By using such a pen-name our author might reasonably have hoped for some undeserved recognition by thus having his work confused with, or at least vaguely associated with, the *Medea* of Ovid, a work which excited the admiration of Quintilian and Tacitus. With the addition of the name

Geta, this fanciful association becomes still more marked. For was not Ovid exiled among the Getae? Did he not end his days at Tomi? And finally was he not also fond of the use of the appropriate name? He even explains in *Tristia* iii, 9 that Tomi, inhabited by Getae, was so named from Medea's mutilation of her brother!

Turning to the work itself, one finds that despite its comparative brevity, it covers the plot with surprising fullness and follows in general the pattern and sequence adopted by Seneca. After a brief opening prayer by Medea for revenge, the chorus, consisting curiously enough, of Colchian maidens, expresses its sympathy for Medea and reproaches her husband's infidelity. The meter employed for all three of the choral songs is paroemiac and represents the only departure from the hexameters of the rest of the play. There follows in fifty lines the well-known scene between Medea and Creon, in which she gains her single day's delay. As with Seneca the ultimate source for the scene is clearly that by Euripides even in particulars of phraseology. The ensuing passages, consisting of a choral interlude and a conversation between Medea and her nurse, serve as an introduction to the meeting of Jason and Medea in both Latin plays. In our work the chorus alludes to Jason's marriage to Creusa, thus driving Medea to a frenzied rejection of the plea of the nurse to escape while there is yet time. In the presence of Jason, Medea begins with an entreaty for pity, reminding her husband of her former deeds on his behalf. She then proceeds in the ensuing altercation to threaten the unmoved Jason with dire consequences. Upon the exit of Jason and Medea the chorus attempts to heighten the vividness of Medea's madness by a string of Vergilian similes, likening her emotion to that of a snake, Orestes, a Bacchic priestess, Philomela, and Orpheus in agony. The whole effect is admittedly somewhat ludicrous, especially with such irrelevant anachronisms.

When the chorus subsides, a messenger bursts upon the stage in an obvious state of trepidation to herald as an eye-witness the

preparations of Medea for revenge. He is accosted and urged to speak his mind, according to the manuscript, by Creon. Creon's presence introduces certain insurmountable difficulties at this juncture. In the first place, being thus forewarned, conceivably he could have averted the impending evil. In addition, the herald's last line after his lengthy description of Medea summoning the hellish spirits to her aid, is obviously not addressed to Creon when he says,

"Vadite et haec regi memores mandata referte."

One would have to assume that Creon had departed without hearing the details of a matter in which he was most vitally interested. The problem did not seem to bother any of the editors of the anthology, although they were ever ready to tamper with the text elsewhere. Mooney, however, recognized the flaw, but unhappily makes matters hopelessly worse by introducing Jason instead of Creon. The obvious correction of the text, of course, is to assign the request for information to the chorus. The last line of the description then, being also addressed to the chorus, gives occasion for the chorus and messenger to depart in opposite directions as is required by what follows. Furthermore this is the least violent of all changes in the reading of the manuscript which almost certainly here contains a common scribal confusion of the abbreviations for "Chorus" and "Creon."

With the stage cleared, the way is left open for the climax as Medea enters accompanied by the nurse. The nurse is dispatched to build the funeral pyre for the children. With this then we have the very first indication of the nature of Medea's revenge. Our author has withheld this information unlike Euripides and Seneca, but in so doing has in no way detracted from the suspense or climax. At no point has his Medea wavered with mixed emotions, and her grim determination has been sustained successfully throughout.

The children enter accompanied by the ghost of Absyrtus. The appearance of the latter is also a departure from Euripides and

Seneca, both of whom employ the spirit as a phantom of Medea's imagination only. Without hesitation the two children are slain in full view, despite the apparent warning of the ghost. Perhaps his presence is merely a reminder to her of her purpose. After the murder the conclusion follows the traditional pattern. The messenger describes to Jason the death of Creusa. Medea is discovered on high and after bidding Jason to bury his children flies off in her chariot with a warning of the effects of cruel love.

Dramatically I find the structure reasonably sound and in some ways can conceive of it as being more suitable for actual production than the *Medea* of Seneca, although of a certainty neither was intended for actual performance.

There remains then only to consider the possible sources of the work other than Euripides and Seneca. Although at least five other *Medeas* are alluded to as existing in Latin before our author's time, some of these are hardly relevant to our purpose. A glance at the fragments of Ennius reveals that his play was very nearly a literal translation of Euripides. Consequently, passages in our cento which differ widely from those in Euripides are unlikely to have originated with Ennius. Again the fragments of Accius show that his *Medea* was an entirely different play in setting and conception. Of the plays by Lucan and Curiatus Maternus nothing is known save the title, thus leaving us only to deal with the two preserved fragments of the *Medea* of Ovid. And here again by strange coincidence the name of the Augustan poet can not be dismissed so summarily. Leo in his introduction to the plays of Seneca has ingeniously concluded, on the basis of the two fragments plus Ovid's account of Medea in *Heroides* xii, that Seneca, when he departs from Euripides, drew largely from Ovid.³ I would suggest that the same theory might be advanced for our work, even though the Vergilian language all but obscures completely the Ovidian expressions which are so apparent in the words of Seneca. I can not agree with Berthe Marti that the fundamental conception of Seneca's *Medea* differs from that of

Ovid.⁴ On the contrary Ovid, Seneca, and our author all present their heroine with striking similarities. For example, the fragment of Ovid's drama,

"Feror huc illuc, vae, plena deo,"⁵

certainly contains the spirit we find in our author's presentation of a frenzied Medea on whose madness the chorus dwells at such length. Likewise the other fragment of Ovid's play,

"Servare potui; perdere an possim, rogas?"⁶

is definitely the attitude of Medea in the cento in her first scene with Jason, pointing to her past powers and reminding him that her deadly abilities are still at hand and will be heard from. Proceeding from such an assumption of Ovid as a source, I realize that it is, of course, much more tenuous to suggest that in our play may be found faint echoes which hark back to Ovid's work but are lacking in the *Medea* of Seneca. If such were the case our work would thus assume some importance by itself.

Three examples of differences between Seneca and the later work will suffice to illustrate. Seneca presents Medea in person summoning the aid of the powers of hell in a long scene full of the rhetoric so typical of Seneca. Our author, as has been noted, employs a messenger to report the action and in so doing appears to have succeeded dramatically to a greater degree. Another difference, and perhaps the most marked, is the personnel of the chorus. The presence of the Colchian women in Corinth, to be sure, is difficult to accept, but their sympathy is much more plausible even than that of Euripides' Corinthian women, who should be as loyal to state as to sex but are not. The chorus of Seneca, on the other hand, is purely rhetorical and, if anything else, hostile. Now neither the pharmaceutical scene nor the chorus may be Ovidian, but finally, whereas Seneca closes his drama with Jason's embittered loss of faith in the gods, who would be more qualified than Ovid to originate the sentiment found at the end

of our play with its timely advice to lovers to beware of the effects of the passion of love?

NOTES

¹ Joseph J. Mooney, *Hosidius Geta's Tragedy "Medea"* (Birmingham, Cornish, 1919) 6.

² Mooney, *op. cit.*

³ F. Leo, *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae* (Berlin 1878), vol. 1, 148 f., 166 f.

⁴ Berthe Marti, *Seneca's Tragedies*, TAPA 76 (1945), 230 n.

⁵ Seneca, *Suasor.* 3, 7.

⁶ Quintilian viii, 5, 6.

THE SIBYL

(Concluded from Page 71)

He may also have been a decemvir. Cf. F. Münzer in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Ogulnius" No. 5; and Altheim, *op. cit.*, 280-283, 340.

³⁸ Cf. Polybius' description of Rome just before the battle of Cannae, and his comment on the anxiety of the Romans at such times to perform every possible religious observance (3.112.6-9).

³⁹ For complete lists of the prodigia of 218-217, see Livy 21.62.1-6; 22.1.8-13. Note Livy's introductory statement in 21.62.1: "Multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet, motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt."

⁴⁰ Livy 22.1.17-20.

⁴¹ Livy 25.12.11-15. The two white female goats were probably sacrificed to Diana. Cf. Weissenborn-Müller *ad loc.*

⁴² Livy 27.37.11-15. The translation of *per manus . . . incessant* follows the version of F. G. Moore in the Loeb edition. On the details of the celebration, see A. A. Boyce, "The Expiatory Rites of 207 B.C.," TAPA 68 (1937) 157-171. For the use of the rope in the dance, cf. C. Robert, "Beiträge zum griechischen Festkalender," in *Hermes* 21 (1886) 165-166. Perhaps we may think of the girls as beating time to the rhythm of the trochaic tetrameter. See Eduard Fränkel, "Die Vorgeschichte des *Vereis Quadratus*," *Hermes* 62 (1927) 357-370, for the early importation of this meter into Italy. Altheim, *op. cit.*, 288, assumes a chorus of twenty-seven maidens at the ceremonies of 249; but I do not find his arguments convincing. See the detailed criticism of his views by L. Banti, *Studi Etruschi* 5 (1931) 633-635. Lillian B. Lawler, "The Geranos Dance," TAPA 77 (1946) 112-130, identifies the movements of the maidens with a very ancient maze dance.

⁴³ Livy 29.10.4-6; 11.5-8; 14.8-14. On the cult of the Magna Mater at Rome, see Altheim, *op. cit.*, 309-310, and 525, n. 109. For Vergil's development of the theme of Cybele as a special deity of Troy, see Cyril Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford, 1935) 176-177.

Lives and Work of Aristeas

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ARISTEAS DIFFERS FROM Christ, according to Origen,¹ in that Christ was divine whereas Aristeas was not even considered to be so, although Apollo desired him to be held as a god. The Greek poet is known almost wholly because of the mystical characteristics ascribed to him. His death was sudden, but so far from being unusual that it would perhaps never have been mentioned, had it not been followed by his marvelous reappearances.

Herodotus² gives the fullest account we have:

Aristeas went into a fuller's shop in Proconnesus and died there; the fuller closed his shop and went to notify the dead man's relatives. After the report had already been spread throughout the city that Aristeas had died, a man of Cyzicus who had come from the city of Artace disputed with those spreading the report and said that he had chanced upon Aristeas on the way to Cyzicus and they had conversed. While the stranger was vehemently disputing, the relatives of the dead man came to the shop with what was necessary for burying him. But, when the shop was opened, Aristeas was not to be seen either dead or alive. After seven years he appeared in person at Proconnesus and composed that poem which is now called the *Arimaspeia* by the Greeks, and, after he had written it, he vanished a second time . . . This happened to the Metapontines in Italy 240 years after the second disappearance of Aristeas: The Metapontines say that Aristeas himself appeared in their country and commanded them to set up an altar to Apollo and to place beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian. For he said that Apollo had come into their country alone of the Italian lands, and that he who was now Aristeas had followed him. But

then, when he followed the god, he had been a raven. After he said this, he vanished.

Among other authors the accounts are more or less the same. Plutarch's³ short treatment of the story is so similar that it must have been drawn from Herodotus. However, he speaks of Aristeas as going to Croton.

For they say that Aristeas died in a certain fuller's shop, and, when his friends came to get his body, he had gone away and was not to be seen. But straightway some people coming from a journey said that they had come upon Aristeas traveling toward Croton.

Theopompus⁴ adds a new idea when he says that Aristeas went from the Hyperboreans to Metapontum. Since 240 years elapsed between his visits in these two places, the statement is rather absurd, unless he visited the Hyperboreans a second time. It is natural that he, a follower of Apollo, should have visited Metapontum. This city was a center of Apollo worship, as one may note from the coinage.⁵ On one coin of Metapontum of the Apollo type appears⁶ even the bronze⁷ laurel tree which the Metapontines placed beside the altar of the god and the statue of Aristeas.⁸

Inasmuch as the raven was sacred to Apollo,⁹ it is natural to find it included in the Aristeas legend, especially if he were the son or the double of the god, as Stein¹⁰ and Macan¹¹ suggest. Pliny¹² also connects Aristeas with the raven, but under different circumstances. He appears as a bird in Metapontum in Herodotus' account, whereas he is in Proconnesus in that of Pliny when his soul flies from his mouth in the shape of a raven—*Aristeae etiam visam (animam) evolo-*

lantem ex ore in Proconneso corvi effigie. No doubt Pliny is referring to Aristeas' first disappearance.

The account of Hesychius¹³ is somewhat similar to that of Pliny. He remarks that his soul came and went at will.

Naive Maximus Tyrius¹⁴ gives a detailed account when he describes the soul leaving the Proconnesian who lay on the point of death, and returning after it had completed its travels:

The body of a man of Proconnesus lay alive, to be sure, but faintly and very near death. The soul went out of the body and wandered about in the air in the manner of a bird, looking upon all things seen below—the earth, and sea, and rivers, and cities, and races of men, and situations and natures of all sorts; and again, after it entered the body and rose up using it as an instrument, described what it had seen and heard, some things to some people, others to others.

His second account¹⁵ is a little more lengthy, but none the less interesting.

In Proconnesus there was a learned man, Aristeas by name. He did not believe that wisdom was the primary element, therefore he quoted no teacher of it. In reference then to the disbelief of men he found a formula.

He said his soul left his body and flew straight up into the air, wandered around the earth—Greece and foreign lands, and all the islands and rivers and mountains. The end of its wanderings was the land of the Hyperboreans. It studied in succession all the customs and political characteristics, and nature of the districts, and the changes of the climates, and the inundations of the sea, and the mouths of the rivers. The view of the heavens was far more clear to it than of that below. And Aristeas was more persuasive when he said these were not wares of the market place, than Xenophanes or any other of those who explained how reality was. For not at all clearly did the men understand the wandering of his soul nor with what eyes it saw everything; but they simply supposed that the soul had need of some sojourn abroad if it was going to tell the truest stories concerning each thing.

Maximus Tyrius attributes to Aristeas the purpose of gaining credence when he wrote

his *Arimaspeia*, and considers him in the same light as Xenophanes and other philosophers.

Rohde¹⁶ presents another theory. Basing his ideas on the passages from Hesychius, Maximus Tyrius, and Pliny, and Herodotus¹⁷ statement that Aristeas accomplished his journey under the inspiration of Apollo, he holds that Aristeas' soul left his body rather than that he disappeared, both body and soul. Thus he sees a case of trance rather than translation. Moreover, he charges Herodotus with combining the two accounts. Herodotus blended them excellently!

Bolos¹⁸ gives another version of the story when he states that in the same hour Aristeas died in Proconnesus and appeared as a teacher in Sicily.

Pythagorean Transmigration

WITH THESE LATER variations, the legend comes nearer and nearer to the Pythagorean beliefs. Clement of Alexandria¹⁹ and Jamblicus²⁰ even speak of Aristeas and Pythagoras together. How and Wells²¹ note a seeming connection between his story and the Pythagorean theory of transmigration of souls, and Head²² erroneously speaks of him as the disciple and follower of Pythagoras, rather than his forerunner. Connection with Pythagoras is the more natural since Metapontum was a center for Pythagoreanism as well as for Apollo's cult.²³

In his *Vorhalle*, Rüter²⁴ considers Aristeas to have been a priest of Buddha, mainly because the crow or raven was sacred to him also, but Aristeas lived two or three centuries before Buddha.

Origen,²⁵ contrasting Aristeas with Christ, not only states that Aristeas was not divine, but surmises that the poet may have been none too virtuous a man. Origen criticizes Celsus, who seems to have felt that Aristeas did not receive the honor he should have had.

Other accounts are more prosaic. Dio Chrysostomus²⁶ says that his enemies compelled him to leave Proconnesus. And Rawlinson²⁷ suggests that his alternate appearance and disappearance is that of an enterprising

traveler. Neither view can explain his reappearance after the lapse of two centuries. Strabo³⁸ says that he was an impostor.

We know little of the other facts of his life. He was a Proconnesian, but the name of his father is uncertain.³⁹ Hesychius⁴⁰ says that he was the son of Democharis or Caystrobios. In Herodotus' account the latter name alone occurs. Baehr⁴¹ suggests that Caystrobios is derived from the river Cayster, at which was an ancient settlement of a noble family, and that either name would indicate noble birth. Herodotus⁴² is explicit in the matter of Aristeas' good birth. Moreover he proves that he must have been a man of high repute by showing that he was well enough known abroad to be recognized by and to converse with a traveler from Cyzicus.

Problem of Chronology

IT IS SOMEWHAT difficult to determine even the time in which Aristeas lived. Hesychius says that he was a contemporary of Croesus and Cyrus, born in the fifty-eighth Olympiad (about 580 B.C.). The readings "two hundred" and "three hundred" in Herodotus⁴³ suggest two earlier dates. Boethe⁴⁴ accepts the date given by Hesychius on the ground that his fantastic religious character accords with the spirit prevalent in the sixth century when Abaris presented a striking parallel. Rohde,⁴⁵ who cannot understand what grounds chronologists had for making Aristeas contemporary with Croesus and Cyrus unless the reason was conjunction or identification of Abaris and Aristeas, remarks that these chronologists must have considered the *Arimaspeia* not genuine. Aristeas could not have been a contemporary of Croesus and Cyrus. If he had been, he would have lived only one century before Herodotus. However, Herodotus states that he appeared again 247 (or 347) years after his first disappearance; hence, he must have lived more than two centuries before this account, especially since Herodotus does not indicate that his last reappearance was of recent occurrence or even happened during his lifetime.

The reading "three hundred" must be rejected because it would make Aristeas live in the early eighth century, before the Cimmerian invasion. If his poem is genuine, this is impossible; Aristeas mentions the beginning of the invasion.⁴⁶ Besides, as Rawlinson⁴⁷ points out, there were at that time no Greek colonies in Pontus. Macan⁴⁸ tries to show that the *Arimaspeia* might have been one of the first fruits of Ionic adventure, but this explanation is not sufficient. He states that Cyzicus was founded about 756 B.C. However, the casual mention Herodotus makes of Cyzicus does not indicate that the city was a new and struggling colony.⁴⁹

The reading "two hundred" remains. This date—the early seventh century, perhaps about 680—seems more probable. Cyzicus could be a flourishing city by this time; Greek colonies could be firmly established throughout the Pontus; and the invasion began about this period. It is, however, somewhat too near Herodotus' own time.

In the case of Pindar, the margin of time would be even more narrow, if he tells of the appearance of Aristeas in Metapontum, as Origen⁵⁰ indicates that he does. If that incident occurred during his lifetime, it is even more surprising that not one word of his account survives than it is that probably neither he nor Herodotus indicated the recency of the episode.

Although Herodotus,⁵¹ Strabo,⁵² and Hesychius each speak of him as a poet and the author of the *Arimaspeia*, and, although most scholars attribute the same characteristics to him before and after his first disappearance, there is no indication of what occupation he followed in his lifetime. He composed the poem at the time of his first reappearance.⁵³ Herodotus says that he traveled while possessed by Apollo;⁵⁴ hence, one may not even conclude that he had been a traveler during his lifetime. Strabo's⁵⁵ improbable statement that he was a teacher of Homer must surely be based on the belief that Homer drew from the *Arimaspeia*.⁵⁶ In that case Aristeas would be older than Homer, as

Tatian says,⁴⁷ and Homer's floruit would necessarily be much later than is generally believed. However, if one supposes him to have lived earlier, the mere fact of chronology would destroy this theory.

Works

HESYCHIUS ATTRIBUTES a prose theogony of a thousand words to Aristeas in addition to the *Arimaspeia*. This latter, he says, was an account of the Hyperboreans and Arimaspeans in three books. Stein⁴⁸ regards these two peoples as the subjects of the last two books, and the Issedonians (including the Scythians and the Cimmerians) as the subject of the first. In Herodotus'⁴⁹ summary of the work, the Issedonians figure prominently. He locates the Arimaspeans, the Hyperboreans and others with reference to them. The work was an account of his travels and as such included this geographical material, legends of the various peoples and their customs. He spoke of the neighbors of the Arimaspeans by describing them as griffins who guard gold. He also comments upon the aggressions of these various states against their neighbors—of the Arimaspeans against the Issedonians, the Issedonians against the Scythians, the Scythians against the Cimmerians, who finally left their country. Pausanias,⁵⁰ Strabo,⁵¹ and Pliny⁵² quote his description of the griffins and Arimaspeans. The work must have been an inferior poetic counterpart of Herodotus' own work.

In these accounts almost all that is known of the *Arimaspeia* survives. However, Longinus and Tzetztes both preserve a few lines from the poem. Those from the former's *On the Sublime*⁵³ follow:

Here is another thing also that fills us with feelings of wonder,
Men that dwell in the water, away from the earth, on the ocean.
Sorrowful wretches they are, and theirs is a grievous employment:
Ever they rivet their eyes on the stars, their thoughts on the waters.
Often, I ween, to the gods they lift up their hands and they pray:

Ever their innermost parts are terribly tossed to and fro.

Longinus criticizes the lines rather severely when he says that they are more flowery than fearful, and indicates that in his judgment they were not awe-inspiring, though their author no doubt considered them to be so. If one may judge the whole from this bit, it is no wonder that the work was of too little consequence to survive.

The lines which Tzetztes⁵⁴ preserves are similar:

There were men from above, bordering on the Issedonians to the north, numerous and brave, very much fought with, rich in horses, rich in lambs, rich in oxen, and each has one eye in his graceful brow; they are shaggy with long flowing hair, sturdiest of all men.

Perhaps these lines are a bit less flowery than those from Longinus, but otherwise his criticism might well apply to these also. Bryant⁵⁵ ridicules the idea of the "graceful foreheads" of Cyclopeans, hideous creatures as they were. Although Aristeas failed in his attempt to reach the sublime in his poem, the content was somewhat impressive, enough to have influenced, not Homer, perhaps, but Aeschylus.⁵⁶ Surely the tragedian drew his griffins from this source.⁵⁷

There is little point to rejecting the poem as not genuine, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁵⁸ and Aulus Gellius⁵⁹ do, simply because the work was no longer extant. It was too poor to last. Moreover, one has no reason to suppose that Aristeas must have been too superior an author to compose such a work, and it accords with Aristeas' character and age.

Much legend and much truth must be blended in the *Arimaspeia*. The same statement may apply to the accounts of Aristeas himself. His story of the griffins seems to be a typical traveler's tale,⁶⁰ especially when it is compared with the description of the ants which Herodotus gives.⁶¹ Neither the surviving fragments of the *Arimaspeia* nor the résumé which Herodotus gives indicates that the work included anything in addition to an

account of the peoples he visited, with no reference to any philosophical belief he might have concerning the souls. Nor would his authorship of a theogony show that he presented a philosophical theory. The legend concerning Aristeas may have been affected by cult stories of Apollo,⁶² but it was probably a local myth affected more by those of Pythagoras, and continued to be so influenced as time went on. Schmidt and Stählin⁶³ suggest that it was so influenced after Herodotus' time, but the early accounts have a Pythagorean color, though not to such a degree as later. On the whole, Herodotus' account is the most satisfactory. It is the most complete and the most simple narration of facts with a minimum of elaborated philosophical details. He says that Aristeas vanished and reappeared twice, but the nearest he comes to claiming that Aristeas upheld any philosophical theory is that he establishes something approaching a cult by having them remember him with Apollo since he followed the god in the likeness of a raven.

Although other authors give slightly different accounts of the flights of his soul, none describe him as a philosopher except Maximus Tyrius, and he only in his second account. Here Aristeas, in order to overcome the scepticism of his people, describes the travels of his soul and explains the nature of things saying that the sight of heavenly things was more clear to his soul than that of things below. Maximum Tyrius seems to have lost sight of the fact that he reappeared at Metapontum centuries later. This account is evidently a late variation and shows Pythagorean influence more than that of any previous author. The whole story may have arisen from the Pythagoreans in their desire to further their theory; Aristeas experienced exactly what Pythagoras taught, though he probably did not present such a theory in his writings or in his teachings. It is useless to try to rationalize his character. The marvelous element plays too great a part, and an attempt at rationalization would only spoil the charm of the story which has impressed so

many writers from early times down to the present.

NOTES

- ¹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 3. 26 ff.
- ² Herodotus, 4. 14-15.
- ³ Romulus, 28.
- ⁴ *Fragmenta*, 1. 308, apud Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 13. 605c.
- ⁵ W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912), 1. 308, note 2.
- ⁶ B. V. Head, *Historia Nummorum* (Oxford, 1911), 76.
- ⁷ *Fragmenta*, 1. 398, apud Athenaeus, 13. 605c.
- ⁸ Herodotus, 4. 15.
- ⁹ Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 1. 48.
- ¹⁰ H. Stein, *Herodotus* (Berlin, 1901), 2. 2. 21, note 10.
- ¹¹ R. W. Macan, *Herodotus* (London, 1895), 1. 10, note 2.
- ¹² *Historia Naturalis*, 7. 174.
- ¹³ *Onomatologi*, s.v. Aristeas.
- ¹⁴ *Philosophumena*, 10. 2.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38. 3 c-g.
- ¹⁶ E. Rohde, *Psyche* (New York, 1925), 328 f., note 109.
- ¹⁷ Herodotus, 4. 13.
- ¹⁸ *RE*, 2. 878.
- ¹⁹ *Stromata*, 1. 1448 §133.
- ²⁰ *De Vita Pythagorae*, 28 §138.
- ²¹ *Op. cit.*, 308.
- ²² *Loc. cit.*
- ²³ Stein, *op. cit.*, 21, note 12.
- ²⁴ P. 271, cited by D. W. Turner, *Notes on Herodotus* (London, 1882), 210 f., note a.
- ²⁵ 3. 26 f.
- ²⁶ *Orationes*, 2. 306. 24.
- ²⁷ G. Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus* (London, 1859), 3. 13, note 3.
- ²⁸ *Geographica*, 13. 1. 16.
- ²⁹ Herodotus, 4. 13.
- ³⁰ *Loc. cit.*
- ³¹ J. G. F. Baehr, *Herodoti Halicarnassensis Musae* (Leipzig, 1857), 2. 314, column 2.
- ³² 4. 14.
- ³³ 4. 15.
- ³⁴ *RE*, 2. 876 f.
- ³⁵ *Op. cit.*, 329, note 110.
- ³⁶ Herodotus, 4. 14.
- ³⁷ *Op. cit.*, 3. 13, note 3.
- ³⁸ *Loc. cit.*, s.v. Herodotus 4. 13.
- ³⁹ 4. 14.
- ⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.*
- ⁴¹ 4. 13.
- ⁴² 13. 1. 16.
- ⁴³ Herodotus, 4. 15.
- ⁴⁴ 4. 13.
- ⁴⁵ 16. 1. 18.

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We See By the Papers. . . .

Edited by Grundy Steiner

IN KEEPING with the very human desire to avoid work is the practice, among all sorts and conditions of men, of finding jobs for "the other fellow." The other fellows prove to be Classical archeologists in "Need One-Third of the World Be Desert?" an article by Ritchie Calder in the *NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE* (July 9, 1950). Mr. Calder, it seems, would like to have the archeologists speed up the process of locating ancient wells, not for the sake of artifacts or significant historical evidence to be found therein, but rather, curiously enough, for the sake of water.

He reports that there is ample evidence that no climatic change has occurred where now there is desert instead of the ancient granary of North Africa, but rather that the ancients were "hoarding the same limited rainfall" that obtains today, for all over North Africa they built "wells, underground cisterns, diversion dams, water-holding terraces and irrigation channels." These remains convince him that "The Romans employed precisely those measures which would be intelligently adopted by engineers to meet the now prevailing conditions."

Mr. Calder thinks that the destruction of the ancient forests (e.g. the forest of Guir, south of the Atlas mountains—cf. Pliny *H.N.* 5, 14) has affected the available supply of underground water and is the reason why the modern oases are farther apart than those in antiquity. But he feels that much of the productivity of the old North African granary can be regained merely by restoring to use some of the ancient physical means for maintaining a water supply.

"It is almost a heresy," he says, "for one who was sent out on a natural sciences inquiry to invoke the archeologists, but I believe that hundreds of thousands of acres of desert could quickly be made fruitful if only those who now go out and look for tombs of kings would try the job of finding the ancient wells and cisterns which only need to be cleaned out . . ." to be restored to use. "What was can be. We can provoke the ancient world to redeem the new."

His article (written with a healthy respect for

the competence of Roman engineers) is based upon a visit (on behalf of Unesco) to Beni Abbes, a former Foreign Legion outpost and now a French Center of Saharan Research, as well as upon extensive travels through North Africa and the other desert areas about the Mediterranean.

PROVOKING THE ANCIENTS

THE PROJECT of redeeming the new by "provoking" the ancient world was taken up, after a fashion, by the *NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE* itself on July 30. Facing an article entitled "These are Days for Poetry, Not Statistics"—an article adorned with a picture of the Winged Victory of Samothrace—was printed a page of "Thoughts for a Time of Crisis." The ancients were not the only sources, but amid quotations from Churchill, Benjamin Harrison, Kant, Michelangelo and others come excerpts from Aristotle, Plato and Ovid:

Aristotle: "The wise man does not expose himself needlessly to danger, since there are few things for which he cares sufficiently; but he is willing, in great crises, to give even his life—knowing that under certain conditions it is not worth while to live."

Plato: "Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the state, and, therefore, only in a democracy will the free man of nature deign to dwell."

Ovid: "God gave man an upright countenance to survey the heavens, and to look upward to the stars." (see *Meta.* 1, 85)

DIVISION OF DISPLACED DEITIES

HERCULES FUNCTIONS as a god of love at Canoe Place, L. I., according to a story by Fay Martin in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* (August 6), or at least such is the tradition about a large wooden bust which is said to have been the figurehead of the Ohio, a ship-of-the-line, launched in 1820. The god faces out upon Shinnecock Bay just beyond Hampton Bays (some eighty-five miles from New York City).

The inscription on his pedestal (quoted here in part) outlines the theory:

This is the strong god Hercules,
His mighty tasks he did with ease;
One yet remains; womankind to please.
The maid who kisses his mighty cheek
Will meet her fate within a week . . .

For some sixty-five years love-lorn females have acted upon this invitation by climbing high onto Hercules' "wooden barrel-chest" to implant kisses

upon his face. But even *THE TIMES* does not seem to know the origin of the tradition.

QUO VADIS?

THE FILMING OF Quo Vadis, reported at some length in our last issue, continues at this writing (August) to occupy the public press. The New York *HERALD TRIBUNE* (July 30), according to a clipping forwarded by Col. Brady, reports details of the filming of one showy sequence on the Appian Way. Two miles of the modern asphalt highway had to be covered with dirt to make the stretch appear properly ancient; then the adjacent ruins of statues and tombs had to be restored to make them look new. When all this had been done to meet the approval of archeologists who had been consulted, the sequence was filmed over a period of five days and, immediately, crews of workmen set about restoring the road to its present-day condition.

Three weeks earlier, *THE NEW YORK TIMES* (July 9) told much the same story but stressed the administrative troubles of keeping contact with the Italian extras, the vast majority of whom had no telephones, and many of whom had no exact addresses.

THE TIMES in the same issue reported details of the burning of Rome near Hollywood where a model on a scale one-twelfth of actual size had been built. Three hundred alcohol burners hidden between the buildings, eighteen large gasoline burners and carbon scissors, in pits below ground level, provided the flames; fog machines vaporized oil into white smoke to produce clouds to provide foreground shadows.

The model fire lasted three days (against six for Nero's) and presumably cost M-G-M well over \$100,000. The model city, *THE TIMES* notes, was not populated during the burning. The crowds which will mill in the squares when the pictures appear on the screen had already been photographed at the Cinecittà Studio in Rome proper. "There they milled in flat areas, against yellow or blue backdrops, spaced according to specifications. . . . By an optical technique known as the travelling matte process . . . the real Romans from across the sea will be superimposed on the microcosm of their city which burned on the Metro back lot." . . . *dies illa / URBEM solvet in favilla!*

CHAFF

MISCELLANEOUS little references (more or less accurate and more or less discerning) to ancient

customs, literature and history continually crop out. These examples are typical:

C. R. Sumner in the *ASHEVILLE* (N. C.) *CITYZEN-TIMES* of July 9 (Col. Brady sends the clipping) reported ancient, including Roman, beliefs about Sirius and the Dog Days.

A Washington columnist, Peter Edson, in the *JOLIET* (ILL.) *HERALD-NEWS* (July 31), quotes Bernard Baruch as telling Senator Douglas, "Rome was a great power, but the people were softened by circuses. When they rebelled, they cut off the heads of their senators." (One wonders precisely what Mr. Baruch said!)

THE NEW YORK TIMES (August 6) reprinted a Carmack cartoon from *THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR* with the title "Aesop 1950." A rabbit ("Communist Lies") was sketched as barely keeping ahead of a turtle with jet propulsion attachment ("Proposed Step-up in Voice of America Program"). Those who would get to the sober realities of all this should re-examine Fable 420 in Halm's edition.

THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS (August 10), in a column by its "marriage counselors," Samuel G. and Esther B. Kling, published a list of ancient sources for wedding superstitions, giving the Romans credit for starting the tradition that the bride should be hefted over the threshold.

Finally, the *CHICAGO SUN-TIMES* (August 20) attempted a history of the techniques of shaving. The author, Robert S. Kleckner, seems convinced that the social status of barbers under the Roman Empire made it possible for patrons to control their chatter. He does not quote Martial.

FROM BOOK REVIEWS

REVIEWERS OF BOOKS contribute their share of references to classical literature. Frank Sullivan, for example, in a review of Corey Ford's *How to Guess Your Age* (New York *HERALD TRIBUNE* Book Review, June 25), pays his respects to one M. T. Cicero as a spade worker "in the field of creaking joints and failing eyesight." Meanwhile, Geoffrey Bruun, in the same paper, while reviewing John Bowle's *The Unity of European History*, lauds Bowle's style with the same words which he himself had directed towards Thucydides: "His packed sentences, summing up the complexity of political action and circumstance, his sense of proportion and of the dignity of events, reflect a profound insight and pity." (Col. Brady sent both these items.)

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NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

ROMAN CLAQUES AND GIVEAWAYS

BOTH OF THESE PHENOMENA of the modern entertainment world have their classical counterparts, although it is doubtful that the ancient "giveaways" assumed quite the importance of the modern practice of awarding prizes on all sides as an inducement to attendance.

The well-organized league of paid applauders seems to have been an accepted adjunct throughout dramatic history;* Zola, for example, mentions the existence and importance of the theatrical claque several times in *Nana*. Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 16) effectively characterizes the conductor of such a group: "In the camp there was a man by the name of Percennius, in his early days a leader of a claque at the theaters, then a private soldier with an abusive tongue; whose experience of stage rivalries had taught him the art of inflaming an audience."

Those two mentors of Nero, Burrus and Seneca, in addition to their political duties, on occasion played the part assumed by the modern radio stagehand whose job it is to display a large sign—**APPLAUSE**—at opportune moments. Dio (lxii. 18. 2-4) describes one of the emperor's exhibits of artistry: "So there stood this Caesar wearing the garb of a lyre-player . . . and this Augustan sang to the lyre some piece called 'Attis' or 'The Bacchantes'. . . . Yet he had according to report but a slight and indistinct voice, so that he moved the whole audience to laughter and tears at once. Beside him stood Burrus and Seneca, like teachers, prompting him; and they would wave their arms and togas at every utterance and lead others to do the same." All that was lacking was a sign reading—**PLAUDITE!**

Despite such assistance, the cautious emperor did not neglect to provide a claque. Dio continues: "Indeed, Nero had got ready a

special corps of about five thousand soldiers, called Augustans; these would lead the applause, and all the rest, however loath, were obliged to shout with them."

Nero seems also to have introduced the Imperial Giveaway Show. At the horse races in the Circus, according to Dio (lxii. 18. 2), he ". . . would throw among the crowd tiny balls, each appropriately inscribed, and the articles called for by the balls would be presented to those who had seized them." Titus added something new; he thriftily introduced the "sponsor" into the somewhat expensive proceedings. Dio (lxvi. 25. 5): "He would throw down into the theater from aloft little wooden balls variously inscribed, one designating some article of food, another clothing, another a silver vessel or perhaps a gold one, or again horses, pack-animals, cattle, or slaves. Those who seized them were to carry them to the dispensers of the bounty, from whom they would receive the articles named." Hadrian added a further refinement: "He . . . distributed gifts by means of little balls which he threw broadcast both in the theaters and in the Circus, for the men and the women separately" (Dio, lxix. 8. 2).

But it was left for Elagabalus, the fun-loving emperor, to make a farce of the Imperial Giveaway, by innovating the principle of "Everybody Wins—Nobody Loses!" According to Aelius Lampridius (xxii), "at his banquets, he would distribute chances inscribed on spoons, the chance of one person reading 'ten camels,' of another 'ten flies,' of another 'ten pounds of gold,' of another 'ten pounds of lead'. . . . These he also gave at the games, distributing chances for ten bears or ten dormice, ten lettuces or ten pounds of gold. Indeed he was the first [sic] to introduce this practice of giving chances, which we still maintain."

And so for those who are given to recognizing something of the Roman in modern civilization, the "giveaway" is yet another arrow to their quiver. A word of caution seems needed: close watch should be kept for the appearance of modern caprices of the Elagabalian type, for that imbecilic emperor was uncomfortably close to *le déluge*!

EDWARD C. ECHOLS

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MEDICINE AND THE CLASSICS: 1809

THE exact place of Greek and Latin in the medical curriculum is still being argued. The results of the survey conducted by Professor Lind¹ would seem to indicate that these languages were still considered basic in the physician's education until approximately 1900. In that same report, the Secretary of the Association of American Medical Colleges is quoted:

Latin and Greek were dropped more than 25 years ago. Personally, I regret this very much because I do feel that a good sound education in Greek, and all that term implies, is a wonderful foundation for the study of medicine. We have had a number of papers on that subject in our *Journal*.

The annual report of Dr. Willard C. Rappleye, Dean of Columbia University's Faculty of Medicine, stating that so-called "pre-medical" education should be abolished in favor of broad liberal arts training, may presage a return to the "good sound education in Greek, and all that term implies."

But those doctors who deplore the trend away from classical and liberal education for the physician may be surprised to learn that one of their colleagues was militantly distressed by this same situation exactly 141 years ago.

In Baltimore in 1809, John Wharton, M.D., "Formerly President of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh, and Honorary Member of the Medical and Physical Society of Guy's Hospital, London," published a polemic aimed directly at the declining educational stand-

NOTE

* Perhaps the locus classicus is the Prologue of Plautus' *Amphitruo*, 64-85, where there is a frivolous arrangement to suppress claque; cf. Suet., *Nero* 20, 25; Quint. x. 1. 18 f. In the *Euthydemus* of Plato (276B-D), when the first interrogator in the skit of the eristics has confused the guest on the program, "like a chorus at a signal from the director," the *claqueurs* of the two applauded and broke into loud laughter; and again after another interchange. But the radio audience didn't join in. [C.M.]

ards of the profession.² The Introduction to "Pseudo Philosophers and Doctors" synthesizes the doctor's digust: "Lines written in consequence of the author's observing with *deep regret*³ the noble and once dignified profession, followed by the *bold*, the *assuming*, and the *illiterate*. . ."

The doctor begins his poem conventionally, by taking a look back at the perennial "good old days":

Among doctors of old, it was a fix'd rule,
To study some years in a good grammar school:
And none except those who were *pretty smart* scholars
(sic),
Ere thought of expending their eagles and dollars,
In gaining a knowledge of fevers and chills;
In mixing up powders and forging of pills;
In learning the lancet to brandish with art;

He then considers at some length the "modern" concept of the complete medical education:

Besides, there are few who trouble the head
With reading memorials of men who are dead!
But their knowledge obtain by what they can see,
And while science is slighted, think only of fee:

* * * *

They say they are ready to make people well;
Well! How can they do it? sure not by a spell.
For Physician alas! I've seen it myself,
The self-dubb'd Pillusset, spell with an F.
As for Latin and Greek 'tis their constant abuse:
They cry out, it is stuff, a thing of no use.
Ask him of a Celsus—and thus would he speak:
O yes I remember that famous old Greek,
Who flourish'd long, long before Galen was born,

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BOOK REVIEWS

HARVARD STUDIES

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. 58-59: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1948). Pp. 234. \$4.00.

THIS VOLUME of *Harvard Studies* contains one purely informational article for reference and three mainly non-technical studies.

Roman Brickstamps

IN THE FIRST article (pp. 1-104), "Indices to Roman Brickstamps published in Volumes XV 1 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and LVI-LVII of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*," Herbert Bloch has again performed a service which should win for him the gratitude of every one who ever has to make use of brickstamps either to date a building newly brought to light or to establish the chronology of one long known. In reviewing a previous article by Dr. Bloch in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* (44. 279-80), I have indicated briefly the importance of this type of evidence. The article begins very properly with additions and corrections both to the *Corpus* and to Bloch's own supplement. The brief preface contains a wealth of information. There is no topographical index, but eventually the *indice topografico* of the author's *Bolli Laterizi* (*Bullettino Comunale*: vol. 64, 1936, pp. 141-225; vol. 65, 1937, pp. 83-187; vol. 66, 1938, pp. 61-221) to be published in the same periodical will do much to supply this lack; and there is no index to the emblems used by the different brickmakers. Such stamps as could in no conceivable fashion contribute to the purpose of the study have been omitted. To avoid any misunderstanding, they are listed. Cross references are designed to help in the troublesome matter of abbreviations. Specific information as to the arrangement of the material well repays the time taken to read it for the facts of general interest that it contains, but the indices are

clear enough to speak for themselves. A summary of the signs and abbreviations used in the indices themselves is a necessary bit of apparatus.

There are six indices in all: nomina (pp. 15-52); cognomina (pp. 52-77); emperors (pp. 77-82); consuls (pp. 82-87); estates, kilns, yards, etc. (pp. 87-93); miscellaneous entries divided into eight parts (pp. 93-102). Finally, there is about a page of varied information headed "Analecta Varia." Throughout the indices, there is additional information wherever it might conceivably be of service. An index concludes the article. As a work of reference, the article never leaves my desk and it has already saved me a great deal of time for other phases of the research upon which I am now engaged. I have never yet failed to find a brickstamp for which I sought its help, and I take this opportunity to thank Dr. Bloch for this assistance.

Imperialism

THE SECOND article, "Ancient Imperialism: Contemporary Justifications" (pp. 105-61) by Mason Hammond, was given at Brown University on October 1, 1947, as the first of the Marshall Woods Lectures on "Imperialism." The subject is timely. Though the word is fairly recent, the thing for which it stands is older than recorded history. The author wisely defines his term as "an urge on the part of one people to extend its political rule over others." This may be a simple desire for conquest which seeks no justification beyond the power of its arms. Such was probably the case with Egypt and the other kingdoms that tried to dominate the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Persians, however, sought to rationalize their imperial aspirations as a crusade to spread their Zoroastrianism for the benefit of mankind. Athens first assumed a truly imperialistic attitude when she had the treasury of the League

moved to Athens. Pericles tried to keep this imperialism on the high plane of cultural superiority, but he was forced eventually to appeal to self-interest and national pride, which became the keynotes of succeeding generations. With the fall of Athens this type of imperialism came to an end. Pan-Hellenism, as advocated by Isocrates, needed a leader. Alexander undoubtedly started his conquests to spread Hellenic culture, but apparently ended with the idea of a world-wide state. The Hellenistic rulers retained imperialistic ideals but fell far short of them in practice. Rome did not start out to conquer according to any imperialistic design. Cicero seems to be the first Roman who felt the need to justify Roman conquests at a time when her aims were becoming selfishly imperialistic. He based her right on her superior moral character. Although Caesar was too much concerned with personal justification while he was adding to the Roman domain to think of the broader issues, he came to believe that equality of opportunity could come to all people only through the subjection to a single will, and he paid the penalty for that belief. By fixing the frontiers, Augustus brought to an end the urge for expansion, though the tradition remained. To be sure, the administration of so mighty an empire required "an imperial system of government," but that is a static type of imperialism with which this article is not concerned. Such is the argument developed by the author with great lucidity. He has wisely relegated the documentation to the notes at the end. If slightly larger type had been used for the numbers designating the notes, they would have been easier to consult in the course of reading the article.

Gentile Names

NAMES FORM the subject of the third article, "The Origin of the Latin Nomen Gentilicium" (pp. 163-87) by Ernst Pulgram. The subject led to an exhaustive and no doubt to the author interesting piece of research, and it is not his fault that the report makes rather heavy reading. There is so little

actual evidence that he is often forced to an argument from probabilities or even possibilities, which necessitates the presentation of much material only for rejection. In justification for his position he makes clear that we probably have practically as much evidence as we shall ever have and therefore we must make the best we can of it. We should be grateful for so scholarly a presentation instead of the more facile argument which would make easier reading. His conclusions are briefly as follows: At the coming of the Etruscans, the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula used only individual names. There is no evidence to warrant a belief that the Etruscans brought family names with them. In the course of time, however, the Etruscan overlords came to express their feeling of superiority over others in the use of family names. When the Italic tribes came into power, particularly the Sabines and Romans, the idea appealed to them as a badge of superiority and a practical means of identifying individuals in a growing population. The date at which the Italic tribes began to accept the Etruscan onomastic system cannot be determined because of the paucity of written records. By about 400 B.C., it had become the common practice. There is a great deal of scholarly information contained in the rather ponderous development of the theme.

Epic Portraits

THE LAST article, by Elizabeth C. Evans, "Literary Portraiture in Ancient Epic: A Study of the Descriptions of Physical Appearance in Classical Epic" (pp. 189-217), is the kind of research which is fun for the investigator, because he has a fresh objective for rereading ancient literature, and fun for the reader, because it recalls many happy hours spent with the ancient authors. It is justified, therefore, even though the results are far from being commensurate with the amount of labor involved. Personally, I enjoyed reading the article, but found the thread of the argument very difficult to follow. Perhaps the author anticipated this difficulty, because she sums up her conclusions in the final para-

graph. The article deals with the emotions as expressed in the face or in the movements of the person described or in the emotional impact of one person upon another rather than with static portraiture.

Summaries of Dissertations

THE VOLUME closes, as always, with the summaries of doctoral dissertations (pp. 219-231). It is impossible for the reviewer to appraise properly the research which has produced these theses from such résumés. The first, "The Psychology of Gregory of Nyssa," by John Peter Cavarinos, gives a clear picture of Gregory's philosophy. The author has succeeded in his summary in making Gregory come alive. If he has managed to keep this same vividness in the complete work, he has performed a remarkable feat. The second, by Joseph Kenneth Downing, also deals with Gregory of Nyssa. The title, "The Treatise of Gregory of Nyssa in Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius, A Critical Text with Prolegomena," amply describes the contents. Eighteen manuscripts falling into two families were used in the collation. Internal evidence confirms the traditional authorship and suggests A.D. 383 as the time of the composition. The third, "De decretis Atticis quae e memoria scriptorum veterum tradita sunt," by John Ratcliffe Grant, was intended as a companion for a similar study made by N. M. Pusey in an earlier dissertation with regard to the laws. Although he collected all the available evidence, he was forced to limit the treatment to sixteen decrees. Considerable subsidiary information came out of the research concerning the state of the archives and the part played by individuals in the promulgation of decrees, and tentative conclusions were reached in the case of specific decrees. The fourth, "The Gospel Text of Cyril of Jerusalem," by J. Harold Greenlee, is an attempt to determine the text of the Gospels used in Jerusalem in the first half of the fourth century of the Christian era. The evidence seems to prove conclusively that it was the Caesarean text. Lastly, Cedric H. Whitman deals with the religious humanism of Sopho-

cles in a thesis bearing that title. The author finds distinct evidence for a religious development in the poet himself, for his unshaken belief in the value of man, for a doctrine that moral excellence lies behind tragedy, and for a growing conviction that divinity lies in man himself ready to assert itself in heroic actions.

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LANGUAGE TEACHING INVESTIGATED

AGARD, FREDERICK B. and HAROLD B. DUNKEL, *An Investigation of Second-Language Teaching*: Boston, Ginn and Company (1948). Pp. vii+344. \$2.75.

DUNKEL, HAROLD B., *Second-Language Learning*. Pp. vi+218. \$2.75. (Both volumes \$5.00.)

THESE TWO CONCEPTUALLY COMPLEMENTARY volumes embrace the major frames of reference from which the problems of a second language must be studied. *An Investigation of Second-Language Teaching* is a frank and factual report on the present status of modern language teaching (French, German, Spanish, English, and Russian) in U.S. colleges and high schools based on a program of intensive research carried on from 1944 to 1947 in over 50 colleges and high schools. It presents data on several major topics: (1) the objectives of language teaching, (2) the measurement of language proficiency, (3) aural and oral testing programs, (4) English as a foreign language, and (5) a detailed report on the methods and accomplishments of seven colleges and one high school following the traditional language program (aural-oral not stressed) and eight colleges and three high schools whose plan of procedure was frankly experimental and, by and large, a reflection of the AST Program.

Second-Language Learning is a realistic survey of our present knowledge about language learning and may, consequently, be

considered of major importance to teachers of classical as well as modern languages. It is concerned primarily with the present state of the study of language learning and surveys our knowledge on the processes and types of learning of the child, student age as a factor in learning, the role of intelligence and background, previous linguistic skills, habits, experience, motivation, teacher-student relations, and the problems of the type of command being sought and the material to be studied.

These two volumes have already been before the public sufficiently long to indicate that their content is not pleasant reading to a number of modern language teachers. Instead of providing the "answer" to the problems of how to teach and learn a second language, instead of confirming the hopes built up by war-time experimentation, they present, by the simple enumeration of the facts encountered, a picture of confusion, contradiction, false hopes and promises, and a profession over-burdened with theories and principles which have become axiomatic, not because they can be justified scientifically, but through sheer repetition. It would hardly be an exaggeration to assert, consequently, that the most significant and positive contribution of these two volumes to the profession is their precise and courageous definition of our ignorance. If they can be accepted in this constructive sense they may well become the point of departure for a major improvement in language teaching.

The difficulties encountered by the authors in carrying on the investigation might properly be considered as significant as their results. They found course objectives so ill-defined that it was hard, sometimes impossible to devise tests to measure accomplishments. They discovered "knowledge of the foreign culture and civilization" to be a commonly stressed aim but that discussions on the subject broke "down in complete confusion because of either failure to define the terms at all or unwillingness to accept the definitions offered by others." The same confused lack of agreement turned up in defining a "reading

knowledge," "speaking knowledge" and the nature of the vocabulary of the "spoken language." A check of three Spanish conversational texts showed so little agreement on what makes up the spoken language that only eleven words not in Keniston's "literary" list were found to be common to all three. Definitions of oral-aural skills are equally ambiguous. No standards were encountered for speed, length of utterances, range of vocabulary for oral testing nor any agreement on these matters. The over-all situation, as found by the authors, indicates a tremendous lack of scientific principles by means of which these and many more vexing problems might be solved.

The most controversial feature of these studies is, of course, the comparison of the conventional language programs with the experimental courses fostered by the ASTP. Both programs were widely sampled and tested by standardized reading-grammar tests and an aural phonographic test especially prepared and standardized for the Investigation. *An Investigation of Second-Language Teaching* gives a detailed account of the programs in sample colleges and high schools so that the reader interested in methods may have ample information upon which to judge accomplishments. The final conclusions, however, have been a hard blow to the optimists who expected Army methods to usher in a new era in language teaching. It cannot be shown by the tests presently available that the intensive oral-aural programs produce a consistently better trained student. It was found that the "experimental students failed to understand the phonographically recorded utterances of an unfamiliar native speaker, delivering unfamiliar though easy material, significantly better than did conventional students." Moreover, the experimental students were below the conventional students in reading ability, sometimes significantly poorer. Their vocabulary was smaller and their accomplishments in grammar were only about the same as that of the conventional student.

As might be expected there have already been numerous negative reactions to these

facts and claims by the experimentalists that the tests did not properly show off their students. While it is possible that there may be some truth in this assumption, it would seem that, until the contrary can be established by scientifically sound procedures, greater modesty might properly be exhibited in reporting results. There exists a real danger, as indicated by the evidence presented by Agard and Dunkel, that the student body will ultimately exhibit as much disillusionment about the "new" courses as they have in the past about the results obtained in the conventional programs.

The entire work by Agard and Dunkel points to the conclusion that language teachers have underestimated the magnitude of the teaching-learning task. The investigation establishes that an oral-aural program does not produce skilled readers. These skills are separate and require independent training. The oral program also bores the student when drill after drill brings him ever so slowly toward a doubtful competency. Oral reproduction remains low in any system of teaching and regardless of the method used students with three years of college language neither read, understand, nor speak a foreign language with near-native competence.

These volumes present a real challenge to the teaching profession. They indicate that the vast experience of decades of language teachers has not produced a growing body of scientific knowledge about language teaching, that the profession has been much too willing to build programs upon assumptions and equally unwilling to do the research necessary to provide sound bases for investigations and scientific improvements. They demonstrate a tremendous need of information upon which to base experiments and certainly point the moral that progress in language teaching will be achieved more rapidly by expending our energies on research in fundamentals rather than wasting them on dramatic programs which can neither be measured nor judged because fundamental facts remain unknown.

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THREE TEXTS

ROBINSON, C. E., *Pliny: Selections from the Letters*: London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (1939; reprinted 1947). Pp. 111. \$60.¹

SMITH, F. KINCHIN and MELLISH, T. W., *Catullus: Selections from the Poems*: London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.² (1946; reprinted 1947). Pp. 126. \$60.¹

KNIGHT, W. F. JACKSON, *Vergil: Selections from the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid*: London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (1949). Pp. 112. \$85.¹

FOR THE SATISFACTORY READING of the classics each generation is challenged to produce its own suitable textbooks as well as its own translations, adapted to the shifting currents of social, educational, and literary attitudes. The classics, to be sure, are a possession for ever, but for the full enjoyment of this possession there is an urgent need, now if ever, of wise and persuasive teaching and of practical teaching aids.

The three little volumes under review represent an endeavor to serve the needs of the present-day pupils in the upper classes of the British schools. They are, for the present, the only numbers available in a projected series of Latin texts known as "The Roman World Series," under the general editorial direction of F. Kinchin Smith of the University of London. Their general aim is to encourage wider and more intelligent reading in the literature of Rome, particularly the reading of works not included in the standard curriculum of the schools. Each volume is designed as a complete unit, small in compass but adequate for an introductory acquaintance with and appreciation of the author and his work. There is in each case an introduction and a terminal vocabulary, the latter in the concise form usual in British elementary texts. In between is the main body of the book, some sixty pages, arranged in several sections of Latin text interwoven with English narrative which provides an effective continuity to the exposition as a whole. The Latin text is frequently abridged

but (except in the case of one of Pliny's *Letters*, where acknowledgment is made) is left unaltered. The accompanying notes to the text vary in kind and quality with the individual editor. In general, however, the orientation is severely away from the grammatical and toward the elucidation of the meaning in its context and an elementary appreciation of the work as literature. In the words of the general editor, "explanations of syntactical points are left mainly to the teacher." Each volume is illustrated and contains one or two line maps.

In Robinson's volume on Pliny, after the brief Historical Introduction (pp. 9-16), which lays some passing emphasis on our Roman heritage, we are afforded an interesting running account of Pliny's life and that of his times, in six sections (pp. 17-76): "Pliny's Youth," "Pliny the Writer," "Pliny's Public Career," "Town Life," "Country Life," and "Philosophy and Character." The Latin selections which serve as documents for this account are thirty-nine in number, all but three taken from the *Letters*; these three are derived from the *Panegyricus*, Martial, and Seneca's *Thyestes*. Most of the more familiar letters are represented, often by abridgments; the two letters on the Christians in Bithynia are included entire. The annotations, brief but helpful, are of two kinds: direct translations of words and phrases at the foot of the page and informative comments on special features of the content at the end of each passage. For a rapid and intelligent introduction to the younger Pliny this edition is a distinctive and very practical aid.

The volume on Catullus is even more successful in presenting vividly for young readers the story of the poet and his work. Here a somewhat more mature level is attempted, though by means of simple and lucid language, to convey an intelligent appreciation of the poetry as great literature as well as an understanding of its intimate connection with the young poet's life. The Introduction (pp. 13-22), devoted to a selective survey of Catullus' influence upon English poetry, strikes the key. In the following six sections (pp. 23-85),

entitled "Catullus and His Circle," "Lesbia—Happines," "Catullus at Rome," "Lesbia—Doubt," "A Year Abroad," "Lesbia—Disillusionment," the editors have freely altered the traditional order of the Catullan poems to fit their more or less chronological scheme. Altogether forty-five of the 116 poems of Catullus are represented, most of them entire; only portions of poems 61 (131 lines), 62 (38 lines), and 68 (12 lines) are included. All the favorites will be found here. The notes are fairly full and varied, always fresh and unpedantic, and often especially happy in their apt treatment of some poetic element. The three appendices (pp. 86-96) deal with some verse translations, the metres of Catullus, and the Vergilian parody (*Sabinus ille*) of Catullus 4. Apart from its suitability for this series this text is particularly commendable in its own right as an excellent introduction to the poetry of Catullus.

Professor Knight's edition of Vergil follows more obvious lines in its arrangement, partly dictated by the nature of the material. The Introduction (11-20) concerns itself with the life of Vergil and with the oral reading of his verse; the editor makes much of this throughout. The three sections that follow (pp. 21-84) are allotted respectively to the *Eclogues* (pp. 21-27), the *Georgics* (pp. 28-39), and the *Aeneid* (pp. 40-84) and include altogether 901 lines of Vergil's poetry (50 from the *Eclogues* 140 from the *Georgics*, 711 from the *Aeneid*), in forty separate selections. All the books of the *Aeneid* are represented, Books 2, 4, and 6 most substantially, Books 3, 5, 8, and 9 most scantily. In this section of the book the alternating English text undertakes in part to maintain the thread of the story of the *Aeneid*; but part of it, and somewhat too much, is given to frequent asseverations that the poetry is *great* poetry, to the point of wearisome repetition. The notes deal for the most part, though not solely, with the proper names which occur in the text and very seldom provide any direct aid to translation; in this respect they are quite different from the notes in the companion edition of Pliny.

Though intended for use in the schools of

England and Wales, these attractive little texts, with their fresh and skillful editorial treatment, should prove quite serviceable for American college undergraduates as well. For this purpose the volumes on Catullus and Pliny especially commend themselves.

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¹ Obtainable in America from The Macmillan Company, New York.

PYTHAGOREANS AND ELEATICS

RAVEN, J. E., *Pythagoreans and Eleatics: An account of the interaction between the two opposed schools during the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.*: Cambridge, at the University Press (1948). Pp. viii+196. \$2.75.

THIS DISSERTATION presents a new reconstruction of the history of fifth-century Pythagoreanism, tracing its interaction with the Eleatics "down to the time when it merges with, and is lost in, the deeper, stronger current of Platonism" (p. 175).

Raven believes that Pythagoreanism began as a primarily religious movement, though Pythagoras himself was also a man of learning, and that there very soon emerged a cleavage between these two elements. There was "a progressive drift away from religion towards science" (p. 20), the scientific side being developed by the "mathematicians" and the religious side by the "acusmatics." But this drift, and the metaphysical development of Pythagoreanism, were gradual, and there was a continuity between earlier and later systems. In particular, he thinks that the notion of fifth-century Pythagorean "number-atomism," advocated by Cornford and others, must be abandoned.

The author does not attempt a direct solution of the problems of the sources of our knowledge of Pythagoreanism. But he thinks that the testimony of Aristotle, in particu-

lar, cannot be lightly rejected, and proceeds, with critical caution, to use it as the basis of his analysis.

The earliest Pythagoreanism is found to exhibit a fundamental dualism, with the principle of Limit, Unity, Rest, and Goodness opposed to that of the Unlimited, Plurality, Motion, and Evil. The world-process consists in the "inhalation" and progressive limiting of the Unlimited by the Limit. Things are numbers, and this means that number is both an "aggregate of spatially extended units" and the formula or ratio by which each kind of object is compounded. Parmenides' criticism, so far as it was directed against the Pythagoreans, was against making Unity merely one of a pair of fundamental principles. If Unity exists, there is nothing else beside it. The Pythagoreans counter-attacked (to an extent which "will never be known" [p. 176]), exposing the inconsistencies and absurdities of Parmenides' system; then Zeno and Melissus, disciples of Parmenides, replied—the former in a negative spirit, showing that the criticisms of Parmenides' One could equally be applied to any extended unit, and the latter more constructively.

Raven takes his departure from Cornford's well-known article on "Mysticism and Science in the Pythagorean Tradition" (*CQ* 16 [1922] 137-150; 17 [1923] 1-12) and the early chapters of *Plato and Parmenides* (New York and London, 1939). He thinks of his view as a modification of Cornford's, and thus it is natural that he should follow the assumption of a vigorous controversy between Pythagoreans and Eleatics. "There seems no reason to question his argument that Parmenides, being a dissident Pythagorean, would be eager to criticize Pythagoreanism" (p. 22). Much in the sequel depends on this assumption, but one cannot help being struck by the weakness of the evidence for it. Raven is very cautious, and will only conclude that there is in Parmenides' arguments "a special (even if, as I have all along admitted, a secondary) anti-Pythagorean validity" (p. 42). He admits freely that others are criticized by

Parmenides, and it is hard to see that his analysis of Parmenides' poem produces any real evidence of this special connexion with the Pythagoreans. When he says that "Parmenides wrote his poem only after acquiring a familiarity with, and eventually being constrained to reject, the Pythagorean cosmogony" (p. 40), this is no more than we know from external evidence. Why not suppose, since there is no record of hostility between the two schools, and since his philosophy takes its place in the same line of tradition as Pythagoreanism, that Parmenides was dissatisfied with it not because it was radically wrong, but because it did not deal adequately enough with the views of the common man, and particularly with the Ionian systems? The Ionians believed in universal change; the Pythagoreans emphasized limit, order, the priority of the static. Parmenides is closer to the latter, and what he introduces is essentially a correction, a reduction of their view to a more extreme form.

Nor is there anything in the fragments of Zeno and Melissus to add flesh-and-blood to the alleged Pythagorean-Eleatic controversy. In Plato's *Parmenides* (128c-d), Zeno says of his book that it is "a sort of defence of Parmenides' argument against those who try to make fun of it by showing that his supposition, that there is a One, leads to many absurdities and contradictions." It is supposed by the believers in a group of Pythagorean "number-atomists" that the opponents of Parmenides mentioned here were Pythagoreans, who elaborated a whole new system as a result of his logical attack. Raven believes this judgment is too extreme, but in harmony with his assumption that the Eleatics would be most eager to attack the school from which they had seceded, he believes that Zeno's arguments are aimed "at the confusions which he detected in the Pythagorean theory of numbers," and that here they have their "most real validity" (p. 73). Yet the whole force of his candid examination of the evidence is to show that, while Zeno may have had the Pythagoreans in mind, his target was a "very much wider" one—namely

all pluralists, "ordinary men and philosophers alike" (p. 68).

In the second half of the book Raven discusses the Pythagoreanism of the latter part of the fifth century. Though he rejects the fragments attributed to Philolaus, he is able to say a good deal about him and his contemporary Eurytus, and to offer a suggestive and persuasive account of their views on the opposites, the One, the generation of numbers, and, in his chapter on cosmology, the development of things from numbers, the central fire, and the system of planets. In general, as was suggested above, he finds a striking amount of continuity between earlier and later Pythagoreanism. It emerged "with its details considerably modified and adapted but with its fundamental doctrines . . . largely unaltered" (pp. 178 f.).

In the concluding chapter, an analysis of the passage beginning at *Philebus* 23c illustrates by example "the extent to which Plato, even when avowedly 'Pythagorizing,' was nevertheless constrained to broaden and deepen the Pythagorean metaphysics" (p. 180).

Dr. Raven thinks of Greek philosophy in the fifth century as resembling "a prolonged symposium" (p. 174). He restricts his attention to certain metaphysical and cosmological topics—especially the One, numbers, and the opposites—and perhaps his thesis is weaker for virtually disregarding the historical background and the religious, social, and political sides of Pythagoreanism. If he shows that there was not a complete break in metaphysics between the earliest, "religious" Pythagoreanism and that of the fifth century, and that in the work of the "scientific" Pythagoreans of this later period religious and ethical motives were still prominent, can he hope to achieve an adequate understanding of one aspect of their philosophy in isolation from the rest? He thinks of Pythagoreanism as becoming more scientific and less religious, and also as developing gradually in the direction of Platonism; but is it not precisely in Plato, among the ancient philosophers, that the close interaction between religion, politics,

social philosophy, and metaphysics is most obvious?

This is not an easy book to read; the author decided that "it was better to sacrifice readability to precision than vice versa" (p. vii). The argument is closely reasoned, and authorities are quoted in the original throughout. But the book contains much that is valuable, and will repay the careful study it requires. It has been impossible in this brief sketch to do justice to the many careful analyses of source-passages, contributing toward the solution of difficult problems.

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LAS RUINAS DE ITÁLICA

CARO, MIGUEL ANTONIO, *La Canción a las ruinas de Itálica del Licenciado Rodrigo Caro*, con introducción, versión latina y notas. Published with a foreword by José MANUEL RIVAS SACCONI (Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, II): Bogotá Editorial Voluntad (1947). Pp. xxxii + 243.¹

THE GREAT COLOMBIAN scholar and one-time vice president, Miguel Antonio Caro, firmly established in Latin-American letters as a philologist and translator of Vergil, was not satisfied with the role of interpreter of classical Latin poetry to the Spanish speaking world. He felt an obligation also to present Spanish poetry to the rest of the literate world. For this he used the Latin language, considering it a medium which would appeal to a truly international, if somewhat limited audience. He wrote Latin in spare moments through a busy and productive lifetime and left a collection of original poems, *Carmina Latina*, and another of translations, *Latinae interpretationes sive carmina e poetis praecipue Hispanis, tum Italis, Gallis, Anglis, latine reddita*. Of the ninety-nine poems in the latter collection he also prepared one for separate publication with full equipment of introduction, notes, and appendices, all in Latin. A portion of these Latin poems was

published in 1943 (*Carmina et interpretationes e poetis nostratibus*, edited by Juan C. García: Bogotá, Academia Colombiana), marking the centenary of his birth; and now this separate treatment of the *Canción a las ruinas de Itálica* has received the tribute of a distinguished publication, thirty-eight years after his death, by the scholarly institute which bears his name.

Rodrigo Caro, a relative of Miguel Antonio three centuries removed, was a lawyer, later a priest in Seville, with a lively bent for history and archaeology. His place as a poet in the Golden Age of Spanish literature is chiefly due to this poem, which has been with certainty attributed to him since the middle of the last century. He wrote it at the age of twenty-two, in 1595, and revised it repeatedly during his lifetime, bringing it gradually to the state of perfection for which it is famous.

Ruins of Itálica

THE POEM expresses the author's emotions and reflections on first viewing the ruins of Itálica, or Sevilla la Vieja, a short distance northwest of Seville near the Guadalquivir. This was the earliest Roman city in Spain, founded by Scipio Africanus in 206 B.C. It seems to have been abandoned in late antiquity. Except for its amphitheater, fourth largest of the Roman world, its impressive remains have not been extensively excavated or studied. But Rodrigo Caro's vision of the city outstripped the meager archaeological equipment of his day. With a deep love of classical antiquity, not untouched with local patriotism, his poetic genius created a panorama of human history in terms of one provincial Roman city—a masterpiece which the translator and editor chooses to interpret as a prime example of a literary cult of ancient ruins.

The poet points out to his companion the site of once famous Itálica, now deserted fields and a bare hill, preserving traces of fallen walls and towers, tombs, a square, a temple. The dilapidated amphitheater, overgrown with weeds, now presents the tragedy of

time in its empty and silent arena, with only the wild beasts remaining from its former spectacles. This was the birthplace of Trajan, Hadrian, Theodosius, and Silius Italicus now honored only by marble ruins. The view of streets and arches and overthrown statues evokes the former glories of Troy, Rome, Athens. Now the spectator with vivid imagination can see the smoke and flames and hear the harsh cries attendant on the city's destruction; and according to local legend a sad voice is still heard by night crying "Itálica has fallen"—"Cayó Itálica," while from the woods around the souls of the city's illustrious dead echo back again and again, "Itálica." The poet wishes, but in vain, for a glimpse of the relics of Saint Gregory, Itálica's bishop and martyr of the apostolic age.

The form of the canción, like other classical Spanish verse forms, was borrowed from Italian literature. It is composed of hendecasyllabic verses interspersed with heptasyllabics, and the pattern of longer and shorter verses and their rhymes is repeated in a series of strophes. The present example contains six strophes of seventeen verses, of which the seventh, eighth, and ninth are of the shorter variety. The translation is in dactylic hexameters, fourteen to each strophe of the original, except that one strophe is translated in fifteen lines. I quote the first strophe and its translation as a sample.

Estos, Fabio, ay dolor! que ves ahora
Campos de soledad, mustio collado,
Fueron un tiempo Itálica famosa.

Aquí de Cipión la vencedora
Colonia fue. Por tierra derribado
Yace el temido honor de la espantosa

Muralla, y lastimosa

Reliquia es solamente.

De su invencible gente

Sólo quedan memorias funerales

Donde erraron ya sombras de alto ejemplo.

Este llano fue plaza, allí fue templo;

De todo apenas vemos las señales.

De el gimnasio y las termas regladas

Leves vuelan cenizas desdichadas;

Las torres, que desprecio al aire fueron,

A su gran pesadumbre se rindieron.

Omne quod hinc, Damon, cheu! nunc cernere
fas est,

Nil nisi deserti campi collisque severus,

Italica ante fuit, late notissima fama;

Illa hic Scipiadae praeclara colonia. Fractum

murorum decus horrendum, dispersaque saxa

Reliquiae miserae victrici e gente supersunt.

Vix ubi lugenti nunc mente audita repono,

Iam dudum errarunt excelsi nominis umbrae.

His locus ante foro fuerat, ni fallor, et illic

Templum surgebat; dubitans vestigia quaero.

Gymnasium periit, thermæ periere salubres,

Unde leves volitant maestae per aperta favillae;

Inque vagos olim erectae fastidia ventos

Ingentes proprio ceciderunt pondere tures.

The text and translation of the poem, printed on facing pages, each page containing one strophe, occupy pages 130 to 141. The ratio of pages, six of text (I have an anthology which prints the poem in two and a half) to xxxii+237 of supplementary material, may possibly establish some kind of a record. It will naturally give rise to the question: Is this poem so important, so difficult, or so recondite that it requires all this commentary? And equally natural is the question: Why bother at all to edit and translate a Spanish poem in Latin? Perhaps as we proceed with our review the answers will present themselves. And if they fail to convince, perhaps a third question will creep into the gentle reader's mind: Why review it?

At any rate I experience no diffidence about answering the ultimate question of this logical series: Why read it? I read the book for pleasure and was not disappointed. In it, Caro wanders happily through the world of ancient, medieval, and modern letters, unostentatiously exhibiting a perfect mastery of Latin idiom, treating subjects literary, historical, philosophical, and incidental with equal ease and fluency, never with the stuffy feeling that he is using a dead language. He consistently reverses the usual procedure by which a Latin text is edited and annotated in the

vernacular. Here it would appear to be the assumption that the reader understands Latin as his native tongue, and Spanish is the foreign one. To be sure, references are quoted in Spanish, as well as in French, English, and German; but the Bible is quoted in Latin, and a rather lengthy quotation from Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is given in Latin with the English relegated to a footnote (pp. 121-122). The notes which follow text and translation, and footnotes throughout the book frequently explain such peculiarities in the Spanish as might prove puzzling to a foreigner (e.g., p. 190 *llorando*; p. 195 *inclina*; p. 47, n. 3). The notes deal with the Spanish poem, and Caro modestly says very little about the translation, which merely serves as an additional commentary on the text.

The Prolegomena give a full account of the life and literary work of Rodrigo Caro, reconstructing much of the cultural atmosphere of his age, trace the history of the *Canción* and its text, discuss its meter and style, and define its position in a special category of literature inspired by the contemplation of ancient ruins. The Appendices give illustrative examples of this special category.

Why Latin?

CARO's justification of his use of Latin in this book will remind readers of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL of the attitude of his countryman, Alfonso M. Navia, whose book, *La pronunciación clásica del latín*, was discussed by Professor Revilo P. Oliver in CJ for January, 1949. The view that Latin is destined to become "the language of the educated men of the world" is clearly reflected here. Looking upon the *Canción* as the poet's gift for all ages, not only to his compatriots but to all nations, Caro realizes that for true appreciation such a work must be read in its original language and interpreted by native speakers of that language. But no one spoken language can serve as a practical medium for revealing its own treasures to all the world, "nor has it ever been granted to anyone except the apostles of the early church to be

able to address listeners of all nations in a tongue at the same time one and manifold" (p. 4; my translation here and elsewhere in the review).

But fortunately, Caro argues, the universal distinction between popular and literary uses of language has produced a medium of expression which can cross national and linguistic boundaries.

Ut ut est, si quis fuerit nostratibus explicandus auctor, patrio sermone utaris necesse est; sin autem quod domesticum est litterarum amatoribus universis aperire constituas, nullo eorum facto discrimine, ad sermonem quidem nullo circumscriptum loco commode tibi erit recurrendum, Latinum inquam, qui, tametsi quodammodo extinctus putetur, tamen per literas communicatur, in libris stabilis viget; qui idem linguarum omnium mutuus interpres et inter literatissimos homines excultasque civitates etiam nunc pro communi vinculo habetur (pp. 4-5).

(Italics mine.) This work then is dedicated to men of literary tastes outside the Spanish speaking world who wish to sample some of the charm of Spanish poetry and who have Latin, "velut instrumento ad omnes disciplinas discendas necessario" (p. 6).

Thus Caro appears as a missionary of culture convinced that Latin is not a dead language but the living hope of Western civilization, a vital link between its past and its future, a practical medium of communication serving as a bond between its divergent nationalities. In the foreword, Rivas Sacconi aptly calls him a man of the Renaissance, closely related to the great humanists in purpose and inclination, in versatility of interest and activity, in feeling for the language and greatness of ancient Rome. "He was a renaissant too in that he received the role of carrying the standards of the humanities and restoring the traditional values of culture in an environment of hostility and neglect" (pp. xi-xii).

It need not detract from the seriousness of Caro's mission if we pry into his secret self and learn something of his more personal reasons for writing Latin. The exercise was for him a private diversion from the public

world of political, literary, and educational affairs in which he was a great figure. Rivas Sacconi compares it, by inversion, to Petrarca's writing Italian verse, "pro quodam diverticulo laborum," while engaged on his more ponderous works in Latin. Caro wrote in a personal letter, "Let's agree that I don't enjoy writing in Latin at times to express myself better . . . but I don't know why. It must be for some reason; perhaps so that they won't understand me. Why do we like to pray sometimes in Latin rather than in Spanish? It must be to speak with God more secretly. *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*" (p. viii).

Los Siglos de Oro

RODRIGO CARO lived in a linguistically interesting age, after the phenomenal development of modern Spanish which began in the fifteenth century, but while Latin still maintained its importance in scholarship and fields of universal interest, such as theology and history. So Juan de Mariana published his history of Spain first in Latin, then in Spanish. Fray Luis de León used Latin freely in his religious writings, in his poetry rarely, as did Garcilaso de la Vega. Rodrigo Caro was exceptional among his contemporaries in that he wrote poetry extensively in Latin as well as in the vernacular. Parallel with the use of the Romance language was the development of new metrical forms, largely through Italian influence, such as the *silva*, the sonnet, the *canción*, and the ode.

The account of the poet's relationship to his contemporaries amounts almost to a history of the poetry of the Golden Age. The editor admits that no product of the age which produced Luis de Góngora could escape some slight taint of the infamous Gongorism, or at least of the conceptism which Quevedo would distinguish. Characteristically, Caro quips: "Conceptistae autem non verborum aut constructionis novitatem (quam Quevedus condemnat) sed sententiarum ipsarum novitatem affectabant: mentem haud sanam in corpore sano" (pp. 29-30). Rodrigo Caro is found guilty

of a touch of this. He could have met Cervantes, too, who spent some time in Seville in the two or three years after the composition of the *Canción*.

It is beyond the scope of this review to give an account, as Caro does, of Rodrigo Caro's various writings in prose and verse, both in Latin and in Spanish. They deal with law, religion, folklore, history, archaeology, geography, biography; Caro lists a catalogue of thirty items (pp. 35-49). The first published form of the *Canción* appeared as an appendix to *Memorial de la Villa de Utrera* in 1604. A large part of this work dealt with the history of Italica and descriptions of its ruins, and here the author definitely established its location at Sevilla la Vieja, an identification which had previously been subject to controversy. Although there is ample and clear evidence for the author's repeated revision of the poem, without substantial change in its form or content, its final version was attributed to another poet when, almost two centuries later, it began to appear in anthologies. And although Rodrigo Caro's authorship was established beyond question in 1870 in a meeting of the Spanish Academy, editor Caro states that the poem is still sometimes attributed to the author's contemporary, Francisco de Rioja. Certainly the present edition may be expected to deliver the coup de grâce which will put that falsehood forever to rest.

Ruins in Literature

MOST INTERESTING is Caro's attempt to define the significance of the poem by establishing its place in a special literary type concerned with ancient ruins.

Cum variis de causis variaeque rerum classificationes, novaeque, quas occasio requirit, segregationes instituere liceat, nil obstat quominus in re litteraria, ea quae ex ruinarum contemplatione enascuntur, in unum scriptionis genus, quod separatim considerari debeat, in praesentiam reducamus (p. 69).

He concludes that, although the poet was influenced in form and expression by the Scriptures and classical literature, the work

contains a new interpretation of the material and a peculiar philosophical quality which constitute Rodrigo Caro's unique creation and contribution to literature, largely reflected in the thought of his own and later generations. In arguing this rather tenuous thesis, Caro passes in review a fascinating array of writers and their works, all contributing something to a great patchwork in which the *Canción a las ruinas de Italica* is the shining centerpiece.

The prophecies of Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, for example, afford sufficient precedent of compassion for a city brought low. But there is no true parallel because Italica was not, like Jerusalem, destroyed for its sin; no distinction is made in the *Canción* between the virtues of Christian emperor and pagan. Caro believes that no parallel can be found in the Greek and Latin classics either, because they belong to peoples hardened to war and suffering. So the Romans would look upon the ruins of a once great city as occasion, not for pity, but for self-congratulation. Rather than weep over proud nations that had come to bad ends, Roman poets preferred to harp upon the meager origins from which Rome had risen to glory (e.g., *Aeneid* 8.314ff., *Tibullus* 2.5, *Propertius* 4.1).

Here I find his argument weakened, as he dutifully discusses all the exceptions to his dictum which occur to him. Scipio Aemilianus wept over Carthage in flames because he saw in it the common fate of all nations, including Rome. Hector in the *Iliad* foretold the unhappy end of Troy: "Haec erat," says Caro, "illa miseratio! exemplum tamen et hoc rarissimum" (p. 75). There is the letter in which Servius Sulpicius consoles Cicero on the loss of his daughter by conjuring a picture of the ruins of Greek cities (*Ad Familiares* 4.5). There is Seneca's consolation on exile comparing the fates of individuals to the fates of nations (*Consolatio ad Helviam* 6). There are more places in Vergil than Caro cites in which the theme of *lacrimae rerum* is associated with scenes of destruction. And I would want to include Catullus'

Troia (nefas!) commune sepulchrum Asiae Europaeque!

as further evidence of the idea. Granted that Rodrigo Caro found no one classical poem to serve as a model for the *Canción*, I should like to reserve the possibility that its underlying ideas can be derived from the classical period. After citing Lucan's picture of Italy ravaged by civil war (*Pharsalia* 1.24-32) and of Caesar viewing the ruins of Troy (9.964-985), our editor is compelled to admit that here are at least the seeds of the literary type: "Lucanus novae poeseos, de quo nobis sermo est, semina iecit, frigida tamen, rhetoris more" (p. 81).

In late antiquity, the writings of Ausonius, Rutilius Namatianus, Gregory Nazianzenus, and Prudentius furnish parallels and sources for isolated passages in the poem, though Caro finds a tendency, in Christian condemnation of all things pagan, to rejoice instead of weeping over ruins. Omitting the scrutiny of Medieval Latin as not sufficiently rewarding, he moves on to the Renaissance, where he finds the first true predecessor of the *Canción*, albeit in prose, in Poggio's dialogue written in 1430, *De varietate fortunae urbis Romae*, and also a parallel of a sort in Dante's *Inferno*. He judges, however, that Rodrigo Caro was probably not influenced by either of these works. In an interesting digression, he traces the inspiration of Poggio's dialogue to a letter written by his Greek tutor, Chrysoloras, to the Eastern emperor Paleologus comparing Rome with Constantinople (pp. 92-93).

No Spanish predecessors in the special category are recognized, although Rodrigo Caro himself stated that other poets had written of Italica. According to our editor, this literary type belongs strictly to the author and contemporary imitators of the *Canción*, Rioja, Quevedo, Francisco de Medrano, Pedro de Quirós. But its influence spread far afield among writers who were consciously or unconsciously affected by the *Canción* and its genre.

Influence Abroad

AMONG WORKS of this latter class, none will appear more obvious to English readers than Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, which Caro compares analytically with the *Canción*. The scene shifts to the New World with reference to the Latin poem *Rusticatio Mexicana* by the Jesuit Raphael Landívar, published in 1781. Its prefatory lines were addressed by the exiled poet to his home city of Guatemala, which had been destroyed by an earthquake since the expulsion of his religious order from all of Spain's American colonies.² The *Canción* stands in an interesting relationship to the travel writings of the French *Compte de Volney*, whom Caro characterizes as a poseur using his word pictures of ancient ruins to support a disquieting and vicious philosophy of history. His *Les Ruines, ou Méditations sur les révolutions des empires*, published in 1791, while vigorously denounced by Spanish churchmen, is seen to have strongly influenced the thought, for example, of Leandro Fernández de Moratín, whose metrical *Epístola a un Ministro sobre la utilidad de la historia* was otherwise closely imitative of the *Canción*.

Space does not permit us to trace in further detail the web of influences and counter-influences involving the poem of Rodrigo Caro. The only previous translation known to the editor is one by William Cullen Bryant. This is quoted at various points in the notes, which are extraordinarily complete, occupying pages 143 to 200. The Appendices include excerpts from various writers dealt with in the Prolegomena and an "Epigrammatum de Ruinis Spicilegium" which serves to illustrate the special literary category discussed by the editor.

In the course of his discussion of the items included in this Spicilegium, Caro narrates with the relish of an amateur detective how he traced down the puzzling relationship of three of them. A Latin epigram by the Italian Ianus Vitalis, who died about 1560, muses on Rome buried in her own ruins, the

conqueror conquered by herself:

Nunc victa in Roma victrix Roma illa sepulta est,
Atque eadem victrix victaque Roma fuit.

A sonnet by Francisco de Quevedo, "Roma sepultada en sus ruinas," and one by Edmund Spenser, "The Ruins of Rome," express the same theme but add another thought, that the only permanent things are those which seem most impermanent. Spenser's sonnet concludes:

Ne ought save Tiber, hastening to his fall,
Remains of all, O world's inconstancy!
That which is firm doth flit and fall away,
And that is flitting doth abide and stay.

Caro had pondered over the strange coincidence of the same sentiment having been added by the English and Spanish poets, while it was lacking in the earlier poem of the Italian. He had considered three possibilities: that either Spenser or Quevedo had imitated the other; that both had hit upon the same sentiment independently; that both had imitated or translated some other poem, probably Italian, now lost. He had decided that the last guess was most probably correct. Then to his great satisfaction he had found the solution while reading Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, where, on the observation that the course of a river sometimes remains fixed while other features of the earth's surface change, two lines were quoted, with a slight inaccuracy, from Quevedo's sonnet.

CAMBRIDGE: A Spanish writer has this thought in a poetical conceit. After observing that most of the solid structures of Rome are totally perished, while the Tiber remains the same, he adds:

Lo que era firme huyó solamente,
Lo fugitivo permanece y dura.

JOHNSON: Sir, that is taken from Ianus Vitalis:

..... immota labescunt,
Et quae perpetuo sunt agitata manent.

So Caro concluded that the Latin epigram had been imperfectly preserved and Johnson knew it in a more perfect form. Both the later sonnets, then, were taken from a more complete form of the poem of Ianus Vitalis.

Persecution Complex

I HOPE I am giving the impression that this thoughtful book makes very pleasant reading. It certainly does. But what validity shall we allow the interpretation of Rodrigo Caro's poem as a special type? The trouble is that it attempts too much and accomplishes too little. The accumulation of examples of literature inspired by ruins can easily get out of hand. If philosophical essays such as Volney's are to be included, why not go on to major works such as Toynbee's *A Study of History*? Why not include archaeological publications? And then what becomes of the special literary type? If however we can agree to restrict the discussion to poetry, there is need to probe its philosophical implications much more deeply than has been done.

The category of writing with which we are dealing is in fact a decadent manifestation which should logically lead to a study in morbid psychology. The editor never really faces this inescapable aspect, although he does acknowledge it in discussing one of the poems in his *Spicilegium*. A sonnet by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1562-1631) represents the ruined city of Saguntum as feeling more pride in the tears of posterity over her heroic death than she would feel if she ruled over Carthage, and the poet prays for death if only it will bring him such immortality. Of this persecution complex Caro says, "This notion of true glory compared to martyrdom is by its very nature Christian, although the ancients foreshadowed something similar" (p. 117). What Caro either failed or refused to see is that this morbid love of death and ruins is the psychological thread which gives unity to his literary type. Introduced as a passing observation, it is in fact a key which should have been employed near the beginning rather than the end of his *Prolegomena*.

It is of course not to be expected that the list of works cited to establish the category should be exhaustive. Nevertheless I feel that it was a strange oversight to omit mention of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, especially the opening parts of Cantos II and

IV. Caro has only one reference to Byron, citing two lines from his "Ode to Napoleon" (p. 71, n. 1). With regard to Poe's "The Coliseum," it can only be concluded that Caro had not read it. This affords a remarkably close parallel to the *Canción* and ought to have been analyzed line by line. Also I think Poe's "The City in the Sea" could have found a place in the discussion, as a fantasy based on the more realistic descriptions of actual ruins.

Although marred by too many misprints,¹ the book is beautifully designed and well printed on good paper. José Manuel Rivas Sacconi and the Caro and Cuervo Institute, of which he is Director, have performed an outstanding service to the cause of universal scholarship, and Classicists especially should appreciate this recognition and acceptance of Latin as a living and useful language. In its quarterly bulletin, the Institute has published a learned and detailed criticism of this book, particularly of the translation of the poem, written in Latin by Daniel Restrepo, S.J. (*Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo*, 4.1, pp. 156-163). This, with the work of Father Navia referred to above and Miguel Antonio Caro's labor of love, will serve to remind us that our neighbors in Colombia can speak effectively for the re-establishment of Latin, the international language of the past and perhaps of the future.

WILLIAM C. SALYER

Washington University

NOTES

¹ The Latin title appears on p. xxv: *Rudericí Carí Baetici Cantio Hispanica celeberrima ad ruinas Italiae cum prolegomenis et interpretatione poetica et commentario critico edidit M. A. Carus, recognovit I. E. Rivas Sacconi*.

² Caro's footnote on the rare edition of Landívar's poem (p. 100) may now be supplemented by listing the edition, with English prose translation, by Graydon W. Regenos: New Orleans, Tulane University (1948).

³ In addition to fifteen errata listed on page 242, I have noted the following: p. xxix, *codem* for *eodem*; 13, *indulxerit* for *indulserit*; 22, *corónicas* for *crónicas*; 63, *despicierit* for *despicies*; 69, *praesentiarum* for *praesentium*.

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of Landívar's by listing the Graydon W. ty (1948). n page 243, l m for eodem; s for crónica; arum for præ-

sentiam; 82, Numatianus for Namatianus; 92, 1515 for 1415; 96, n. 1 incomplete; 105, additus for additus; 112, lanus for Ianus; 121, most original that for more original than (?); 173, opportunun for opportunum; 174, noverat for noverant; 189, penetrate for penetrare; 190, tantun for tantum.

THE GREEK CYNICS

SAYRE, FARRAND, *The Greek Cynics*. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co. (1948). Pp. 112. \$1.50.

DESPITE THE UNDOUBTED competence of the author and his wide command of sources, the book is marred by poor arrangement and punctuation, needless repetitions (of quotations especially), casual forms of citation and inconsistent abbreviations, and typographical and other errors, as listed after the page numbers below. But when a scholar brings out a book at the final age of a Sophocles or a Gildersleeve, such lapses are to be viewed with tolerance.

- 1.13: 'peregrinus 3' (for 2).
- 2.3: 'Nicomachean' for 'Nicomathean.'
- 5.19: κίων for κίον.
- 6.9: 'Isthmian' for 'Isthumian.'
Prot. 321D would be a better citation than Polit. 274.
- 9.10: a negative seems to be lost after 'comes.'
- 15.32: 'Morales' for 'Morrales.'
- 17.32: 'Epictetus' for 'Epictatus.'
- 34.13: 'was' for 'were.'
- 37.22: ἱμάτιον for ἱμάτιον.
- 24: Λακωνίζοντες for Λακωνίζαντες.
τριβων, as an adjective, does not mean 'worn' in general.
- 39.26: 'Historia Naturalis' for 'Naturalia Historiae.'
- 45.17: 'Buddhist' for 'Buddist.'
- 50.10: φειδίσια does not seem to be among the variants of this word.
- 51.16: 'Römische' for 'Romische.'
- 58.17: 'Aristoteles' for 'Aristotteles.'
- 61.5: 'Alexandria' for 'Alexanderia.'
- 76.33: τὸν for τῶν.
- 78.1: No mention of washing vegetables in the Horace passage.
- 82.7: 'Hieronymus' for 'Hieronymus.'
- 83.8: 'Hieronymus' for 'Hironymus.'

87.30f: Rep. 400E has the corresponding noun, not the adverb.

89.27: 'Rheinisches' for 'Rheinische.'

106. no. 54: 'Crones' for 'cromes.'

108. no. 68: delete 'not' in 1.3. Ioan. Damasc. in Stob., Flor. 2, 13, 98 for Stobaeus, Ecl. 2, 31, 97.

109. no. 73: 'But' for 'Put' in 1.3.

The press should have been much kinder to Dr. Sayre.

The book contains chapters on: Greek Cynicism, The Sources of Cynicism, Diogenes of Sinope, The Diogenes Legend, and Antisthenes the Socratic. There are appendices on Crates of Thebes and Bion of Borysthenes, and an index. It is factual, informing, interesting.

The Cynics claimed to have found a short cut to happiness (cf. Lucr. 6.27). Happiness, not virtue, was their goal. 'Αρετή includes much besides morality. They were not primitivistic, but amoral. They trained for hardihood and resulting indifference; yet they sought a sort of ease, avoiding the hardships attendant on family and political responsibility. They were characterized by idleness (except for preaching), poverty (but received money for preaching it), thievery (justified by communist theory), ignorance and vulgarity (on which they prided themselves).

They had no canon, were not Socratics, were unknown as a sect before the first century B.C., died out in the fifth A.D. Yet they had antecedents: the νόμος-φύσις business of the pre-Socratics or of Callicles in the Gorgias for their unmorality; the Hindus, indirectly, for their way of living—better adapted to the climate and temperament of the Indians than of the Greeks (but the holy-men of India were intellectually and morally their superiors); for their vulgarity, Thersites or the tribe of whom Xenophon and Apollonius Rhodius say that they did in public what 'human beings' would do in private—adding, for good measure, a tolerance of incest and cannibalism. After this description, it is a cheerful thought that they

were sometimes classed with Christians, having alleged affinities therewith.

The semi-mythical Diogenes was not the founder or teacher of any philosophy. Aristippus was a relatively elegant pre-Cynic. Crates of Thebes (not a Cynic, but a respectable citizen) was the chief source of Cynicism, and perhaps of the related Stoicism. At least he sought happiness in emancipation. The three authentic biographical items about Diogenes are: Aristotle says, "The Dog called taverns the public tables of Attica"; Theophrastus claims he drew his inspiration from a mouse; Olympiodorus says he carried a staff and wallet. Allegedly exiled from Sinope, as having debased the monetary (or moral) currency, he carried little beyond his towering egotism to Athens. Driven from Athens and excluded from Sparta, he is said to have gone to Corinth, where he may have had the brief conversation with Alexander, as recorded by Plutarch. He seems to have returned to Athens. He reviled everyone and had no pupils. He left no authenticated writings; but some later writers established for him a laudable character which he cannot have had. The word 'honest' is a very late insertion in his quest with the lantern; without that, it had been told of much earlier worthies. Many stories were invented about him after his death, and about the manner of his death. Eventually he gained the reputation of being a great philosopher and even a saint, if not a god. Julian thought of using him as a rival of Jesus.

Antisthenes was a Socratic, pure and simple. The Stoics pretended to a succession: Socrates-Antisthenes-Diogenes-Crates. But Diogenes had no connection with the others; and Crates antagonized both the Academy and the Lyceum. Sayre's chapter on Antisthenes is the best-ordered and most convincing part of the book. The appendices consist of anecdotes about, and sayings of, Crates and Bion.

There is a wealth of material in this short book, which might well have been expanded into a large volume. The conclusions are

iconoclastic, but valuable: that Diogenes was no philosopher or worthy moralist and did not found a sect; that Antisthenes was not a Cynic and the connection of Stoics and Cynics is fallacious. The learned author has given us something well worth reading; and an example of myth-making and debunking.

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GREEK VERSE INSCRIPTIONS

FRIEDLÄNDER, PAUL, with the collaboration of HERBERT B. HOFFLEIT, *Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse*: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1948). Pp. 198. \$5.00.

IT IS MORE THAN thirty years since Professor Friedländer began in Germany his work on Greek metrical inscriptions in order to prepare an edition that would replace the earlier collections of Kaibel¹ and Preger; now, at last, despite the interruptions of wars and migrations, he has produced in California, with the help of his colleague, Professor Hoffleit, the first volume of the new work, containing inscriptions, whether from stones or from literary sources, that can be dated before the Persian Wars. But even within this period the editors have not attempted to achieve the completeness of Kaibel, for they have omitted certain less important fragments and, because of the unsettled times, they have been unable to make a thorough search for new epigrams, published or unpublished. In method as well there has been some relaxation of the rigorous standards of the epigraphists, as for example in orthography, in the omission of half-brackets, and in the use of photographs and squeezes instead of an inspection of the stones themselves.² On the other hand, this edition goes beyond Kaibel's in including epigrams from literary sources, for which one had formerly to go to the separate collection of Preger. The arrangement, too, differs from that of Kaibel in that the epigrams are grouped

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first chronologically, and then according to their metrical forms and the occasions of composition. Classification according to the place of origin, which was for Kaibel a principle of first importance, is here given little attention. In a word, the editors believe (it may be inferred) that the task of assembling factual descriptions of metrical inscriptions has now, in large measure, been completed and what remains is to order and to interpret the texts that have already been collected. What the epigraphists will have to say to this remains to be seen, but for others it is pleasant to see an undertaking of which Boeckh might have approved carried out in a way that Hermann need not have censured.

There is a short introduction, in which the purposes and methods of the editors are set forth, and after that the texts themselves, hexameters and then elegiacs, followed by smaller groups of irregular dactylic verses and of iambic and trochaic epigrams.³ There are brief introductions to each of the sections (except the third). Each of the epigrams is preceded by a statement concerning its source, the object with which it is concerned, the epigraphic style, the date, and a selection of important publications (including references to published illustrations); a translation and commentary follow. There are three useful indexes at the back, but unfortunately no index of important words.

The translation is a disappointment. It is sometimes infelicitous; non-metrical parts of inscriptions now are translated, now are not; supplements, especially the tentative kind, are not always translated exactly, and upon occasion a supplement is translated, although not included in the text; a tentative supplement may be translated although an uncertain reading is not. There are frequent omissions and occasional additions. The stock words used in dedications and epitaphs are given different translations in different contexts (it is not always clear why), so that the epigrams seem, in translation, to be much less dependent on formulas than they actually are. It is only seldom, however, that the

translation seems actually wrong. For example, *σοφίεσθαι* in 134 is "to practise their skill," as the second line shows, and not "to show their cunning." Again, although *πόλις* is regularly used, in a topographical context, to refer to the acropolis, in contrast to the lower town (*ἄστυ*), it is probably not safe to translate it invariably as "citadel" in epigrams from the Athenian Acropolis (116, 118). The word *πόλις* surely denotes citizens as well as buildings in Theognis 781 f.: *ἀλλὰ σὺ, Φοῖβε, Ἰλαος ἡμετέραν τήνδε φύλασσε πόλιν* and in Solon fr. 3.1 (Diehl²). Even more conclusive is an inscription⁴ from the Acropolis in which occur the words *τήνδε πόλιν νέμεται* and the meaning is "city" or the like. The argument on p. 68 appears to be mistaken: there seems no reason to suppose that *ἥδε πόλις* could not be used in an epitaph as well as in a dedicatory inscription. One may wonder, too, whether full effect ought not to be given to the use of the imperfect tense in 69.2 and 26.2.

Since the editors consider interpretation to be one of their chief tasks, much will be expected of the commentary, and this expectation is not disappointed. A careful study has been made of the use, in literature, of words and phrases found in the epigrams, and conclusions are drawn regarding the earlier history of the forms from which these borrowings and echoes derive, as well as the literary effect of the latter in the epigrams themselves. Epic echoes in the hexametric epigrams are interpreted as evidence for the existence of local schools of epic poetry in Corinth, Boeotia, Argolis, Delos, and even Southern France. The elegiac epigrams, on the other hand, are said to have borrowed from an international elegy that was used for laments and for hymns. Not everyone will agree with all the conclusions concerning literary history, and fewer, it may be expected, with the literary judgments; but there is reason to be grateful to the editors for their collection of echoes and for their attempt (the first to be made on this scale) to relate the study of epigrams to Greek literary history. To other matters, such as prosody,

dialects, formulas, and chronology, less attention is paid, and, in general, political and economic history has a minor place.

As an example of the text and commentary we may consider the discussion of the difficult problem of 145 (IG I² 394). There is an account of the variants of the literary tradition (though without an analysis), which derives from Herodotus' version of the revised epigram of the Periclean period. The readings of the fragment of the sixth-century stone are not given and consequently this edition is not independent or sufficient. Nor is the text itself entirely satisfactory: it was not a happy decision to revive Bergk's unsuccessful advocacy of the *ἐκ πολέμου* of the Herodotean tradition, and the acceptance of *ἀχρὺθέρνι*, on the strength of Sir George Wheler's copy of an obscure inscription of the Imperial period, is perilous at best; it is of little importance that both readings are found in the best MSS of Herodotus, since it is clear that there were rival versions current even in antiquity. As for the cause of the change in the text at the time of the fifth-century restoration, there is no decisive analysis of the problem; since the topographical question cannot be regarded as settled (certainly not by Holland's brief abstract, to which the editors appeal), Kirchhoff's theory that the alteration was necessitated by a change of site ought not to have been passed over in silence.

Misprints have been observed occasionally, chiefly in references. The transliteration of Greek names is unsatisfactory: sometimes the inconsistency goes so far that the same name is spelled in one way in the translation and in another way in the commentary (8). The English is not unobjectionable.

In conclusion, it may be said that this edition is learned and valuable. Though it is not invulnerable to criticism in method, one may be grateful to the editors for their labours, because the book will be useful for its contributions to the history of Greek

literature and indispensable to the student of the Greek epigram.

LEONARD WOODBURY
University College, Toronto

NOTES

¹ A new edition of Kaibel was promised by Professor W. Peek in *Gnomon* 8 (1932), 559 f. but has not yet appeared.

² It is the more regrettable that on the one occasion (p. 5) on which the editors have printed an epigram in accordance with the requirements of epigraphic practice they should not have been wholly consistent.

³ It should be mentioned that restorations made *exempli gratia* are printed in small type; it is a sensible convention.

⁴ See now A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), no. 121.4.

PREHISTORIC CORINTH

KOSMOPOULOS, LESLIE WALKER, *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*, I: Munich, Münchner Verlag (1948). Pp. xxii + 73, 51 text figures, 4 multiple color plates.

THE TERM PREHISTORY used to be applied two generations ago to a patchwork of myth, hypothesis, and guess, which made up our picture of the period preceding the existence of written history; and since there were few coherent ideas about the Stone Age or even about the Bronze Age, prehistory in practice was limited to a rather narrow range in the chronological spectrum. In the Near East this range was several centuries on either side of the year 1000 B.C.

In recent years, however, archaeology has extracted from inscriptions and artifacts a fairly clear and definite outline of the Bronze Age. And so it is hardly appropriate to designate the Bronze Age as prehistoric, in view of the implication of vagueness and uncertainty that the term carries. This explains why prehistory now usually designates the period preceding any kind of writing and, therefore, preceding the formation of sizeable, effectively organized, and fairly permanent states; in Egypt and Mesopo-

ARCHAIC GREEK ART

RICHTER, GISELA M. A., *Archaic Greek Art against Its Historical Background*. New York, Oxford University Press (1949). Pp. xxv + 226, 337 illustrations.

IN 1800 the Apollo Belvedere was considered the characteristic masterpiece of classical sculpture; in 1900, the Parthenon figures; today critics incline to rate archaic art close to if not at the top. It is this exciting period, both historically and artistically, which Miss Richter has chosen to survey in detail.

As one would expect from our foremost historian of Greek sculpture, her treatment is up to date and authoritative. In dealing with the three chief periods (c. 650-575, 575-525, and 525-480 B.C.), now distinguished more accurately than ever before, she examines in each instance the various sites in continental Greece, the islands, Asia Minor, Italy, and Sicily, and reports on the finds there, chiefly sculpture and vases, with relation to the cultural development. In certain respects archaeology continues to instruct the historians: for instance, it is now clear that Athens was a more important artistic and commercial center in pre-Solon times than was formerly supposed; Sparta continued to be interested in the fine arts until toward the end of the 6th century; and many of the island cities had a more flourishing culture than the literary record implies. Miss Richter concludes that an essential homogeneity in artistic expression flourished over so wide an area because, in spite of regional differences, artists traveled extensively throughout the Greek world. In attributing the diversities primarily to the temperaments of individual artists she perhaps underestimates the effect of regional differences.

Occasionally there are aesthetic analyses and judgments, but for the most part the book is descriptive. And although it is expanded from popular lectures given at Bryn Mawr and is intended for the general reader rather than the professional archaeologist, it

tamia this period barely touches the Bronze Age at all, and in the Greek mainland it hardly reaches any later than the Early Bronze Age.

Exactly to this period does the present study relate. The text classifies and discusses the Late Stone Age and Early Bronze Age remains at Corinth, especially potsherds, and also figurines, houses, animal bones, and various other artifacts. This collection is sufficiently diversified to contain representative examples of all the chief types of prehistoric archaeological finds. The figurines of slaughtered ("sacrificed") animals deserve special mention. Even more interesting are the broader conclusions. The author points out that from the beginning the settlement had close contacts with Central Greece and soon had occasional trade contacts with the Aegean and even beyond. Until the appearance of the promised second volume, which is to contain an exposition of the evidence in detail, critical examination of these conclusions must be left to those who have themselves inspected and worked with the tangible evidence.

One must turn to non-essentials to find fault: the clarity of exposition, literary style, and punctuation fall short of the highest standards. These faults (which any professional "editor" could correct) evidently should be blamed on the harrowing conditions surrounding the printing of the book in Germany in 1948. The illustrations add much to the volume: the fine colored plates are really essential in such studies (though the fact has not always been recognized), and the other halftones are, fortunately, placed in the text, where they belong.

The book is a welcome addition to a distinguished group of local studies, which, taken together, are gradually showing us the broad outline of folk movements and cultural contacts in prehistoric Greece.

CONSTANTINE G. YAVIS

Saint Louis University

is still rather technical. The fine bibliography (Stanley Casson's *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* should have been included) and footnotes will be useful to students of the classics and fine arts who wish to follow up Miss Richter's terse comments; and the illustrations of sculpture, vases, and coins are admirably chosen and reproduced, with a few exceptions. For Figs. 232 and 249 a better choice would have been Clarence Kennedy's photographs.

The publishers as well as the author are to be congratulated on the distinguished designing of this book. The format is worthy of the art described and pictured.

W. R. AGARD

University of Wisconsin

AGAINST VERRES

KLOTZ, ALFRED, *In C. Verrem Actionis Secundae Libri IV-V*, Second Edition, (M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia, fasc. 13): Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1949). Pp. 351-528.

THIS VOLUME is definitely just a second edition. Although the Preface will probably, as in the previous edition (1923), precede the *In Q. Caecilium Divinatio*, it is clear from the *sigla* and *notae* that the text is based on the same principles as before. The apparatus exhibits no marked novelties, the chief change being the addition of recent bibliography on some readings. The nature of the differences in text can be seen in the following examples, where the readings in the present edition are given first and those of the 1923 edition are given second: *iv 20 modios, modium*; *iv 148 Theoplactum, Theoractum*; *v 13 atque haec sicubi, Atque haec sicubi [facta sunt]*.

The typography and format of this book, as in the case of other postwar Teubners I have seen, is vastly improved. The entire book has been reset in a style which is comfortable and satisfactory to read, although it contains only 178 pages as opposed to the 190 pages of the previous format. This volume is "bound"; the other two volumes of Cicero's orations published since the war (fasc. 8 and

fasc. 19) are "sewed."

The index of this volume, as in the previous edition, also covers the *Verrines* which will appear in fascicles 11 and 12. The page and line references for those fascicles, however, are so nearly identical with those of the 1923 edition, that one would expect no change of format in them.

Perhaps the greatest interest pertaining to these new Teubners is that they are published in Leipzig!

WALTER ALLEN, JR.

The University of North Carolina

ON THE ANCIENT CRITICS

VAN DER VALK, MARCHINUS, H. A. L. H., *Textual Criticism of the Odyssey*: Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V. (1949). Pp. 206. 14.50 florins.

THE PRINCIPAL AIM of this psychologically-grounded study has been "to investigate the value of ancient criticism especially of the Alexandrian critics."

That value, van der Valk concludes from his investigations, is small indeed; "ancient scholars have misunderstood the mentality of the poet and have wrongly tried to bring the text into harmony with the ideas of their own time"; future editors of Homer must not rely on the ancient critics, but "pay special attention to the transmitted text." Van der Valk's battle-cry is: "Homeric criticism must emancipate itself from the authority of the Alexandrians."

The Dutch minister-scholar divides his study into two parts. The first takes up such points as these: 1) "whether the Alexandrians had manuscripts of special value at their disposal in the examination of the Homeric text" [van der Valk answers: No!]; 2) whether Didymus, "the principal source of the Homeric textual criticism of antiquity," was a good textual critic [van der Valk answers: Didymus had an erroneous conception of textual criticism; he was fallible in his interpretation of Aristarchus].

But to proceed more rapidly—the consideration of the quality of Alexandrian “conjectures” momentarily but necessarily takes van der Valk off into a discussion of the MSS of the *Odyssey*. He returns, however, to condemn roundly the conjectures of Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Rhianus. Aristarchus comes in for his share of censure; most of the time his readings are worthless. Similar is the judgment next passed on the *chariestera antiographa* (scientific editions of antiquity).

In the second part of his book van der Valk scrutinizes athetesis. The Alexandrians athetized 1) on the principle of “‘aprepes’ (indecent)”; most modern critics reject athetesis so determined; 2) by reason of “prosaic mentality and too punctual matter-of-factness”; critics today have a closer insight into the archaic mentality, and more material; hence they can prove the incorrectness of such athetesis; *heraus damit*. Toward the end of the book van der Valk investigates the lines missing in most of the extant MSS. The Alexandrines are responsible; *ergo*, restore the lines.

Van der Valk’s book has not been composed to form a pleasant, rapidly-read commentary on the activity of Aristarchus, and the rest of the old critics. One reason: the book bulges with documentation which often but not always only the expert can readily appreciate and gauge. Another reason: the order of topics has not everywhere been well worked out, and chapter-headings leave something to be desired. Still another reason (and I am petty in citing this, but I suffered considerably): paragraphs are staggeringly long; four-page examples can be found with no trouble at all. Surely the ills that beset the business of printing are not so extreme that the reader should be compelled always *magnis itineribus contendere*.

But there exists stimulation aplenty in the pages of this study. With humility greater than that professed by van der Valk, I venture to predict from reviewers and readers supremely better equipped than myself challenges, elaborations, qualifications—and bravos. Often enough the personality of the

poet of the *Odyssey* is what is at stake. For all classical students certainly that should invite browsing about here and there in the book. In this respect, the Index (pp. 290–293) of the passages of the *Odyssey* examined by van der Valk will prove helpful.

Two remarks remain to be made. To the reader I suggest that after finishing the Introduction, for a readier grasp of what is to come, he turn immediately to the Summaries on pp. 179–180, 285. To Dr. Marchinus van der Valk thanks are due for initiating this detailed catechism of some philologists and their toils over Homer.

LEO M. KAISER

Saint Louis University

LATIN AND GREEK IN ENGLISH

BURRIS, ELI E., and LIONEL CASSON, *Latin and Greek in Current Use*, Second edition, completely revised: New York, Prentice-Hall (1949). Pp. xi + 292. \$3.25.

WHEN A NEW CIVILIZATION such as ours in modern America arises on the basis of an older one, changes inevitably take place in the process. New directions and emphases develop, old interests and already acquired knowledge fade into the background. It has always been thus, and at the present stage of human achievement seems the only way in which progress can take place. Yet such a process of development is fraught with danger, particularly with the possibility that much useful knowledge and many valuable ideas and attitudes may be lost, even irretrievably as in the cases of ancient Crete and Etruria. And what of a situation in which the very vocabulary of the new culture is permeated with elements of the old, and can be thoroughly understood only through acquaintance with the languages of the older culture? This is of course the problem facing speakers of modern English, with its quadrilingual lexicon composed of Germanic, French, Latin and Greek elements. Our rapid strides in technological development make this problem all

the more pressing for us, with our heavily learned technical vocabulary, and present us with difficulties that do not confront speakers of, say, German or Czech, in which technological neologisms are based on indigenous roots.

Special measures to meet the situation are therefore in order; for some time, it has been realized that we must help the large numbers of our high-school and college students who (for one reason or another) never study Latin or Greek and yet need to know and use the learned vocabulary of English. Hence the often intensive and wholly justified study of word origins which prevails in many English courses, and hence the various books which explain the Graeco-Latin elements in our lexicon. One of the outstanding works in this field has been Burriss and Casson's *Latin and Greek in Current Use*, first published in 1939, and now available in a completely revised second edition. As in the earlier edition, the work is divided into two main parts, the first (pp. 3-172) dealing with Latin and the second (pp. 175-260) with Greek. In each main part, the chapters are arranged principally by the morphological categories of the source language. In the Latin part, an introductory chapter treats of the relation between Latin and English (pp. 3-14), and following chapters deal with "Latin Nouns and Adjectives" (pp. 15-46), "Compound Nouns and Adjectives" (pp. 47-88), "Latin Verbs" (pp. 89-134), and "Compound Nouns and Adjectives Formed from Verbs" (pp. 135-156). The Greek section contains a brief introduction (pp. 175-181) and chapters on "Greek Nouns" (pp. 182-207), "Greek Adjectives, Numerals, Prefixes" (pp. 208-224) and "Greek Nouns" (pp. 225-246). Each part has a general vocabulary of all the forms cited from the respective source language, Latin or Greek. The book is concluded by two very useful indices, a "General Index" (pp. 261-266) of technical terms and subjects, and an "Index of [English] Words" (pp. 267-292).

On the whole, Burriss and Casson have done an excellent job in setting forth the bases of

our Graeco-Latin vocabulary, and the student who uses this book will leave it with a very firm foundation of essential knowledge. The order and subject-matter of the chapters has not been changed from that of the first edition, except that the chapter on "Compound Words" in Greek has been replaced by that on Greek adjectives, numerals, and prefixes. But within each chapter, there has been a thorough-going revision and re-arrangement of the contents, making them both more interesting and easier to handle in the classroom. Each chapter contains a number of lessons, in each of which a group of examples illustrates one or more linguistic principles, and is followed by several paragraphs of "etymological notes" on the history of individual words and by a number of carefully worked-out exercises. These last, especially, are a marked improvement over those of the first edition. The exposition of the relevant aspects of Latin and Greek linguistic structure is clear and well organized, and the discussion, particularly in the "etymological notes" of each lesson, is interesting. The points of linguistic history which are treated, especially in the introductory chapter on "Latin and English," are given in accordance with traditionally accepted linguistics. In general, the authors take an intelligent, objective attitude towards linguistic change. One of the best single passages in the book is that which discusses the distinction between learned words and popular words, and emphasizes the necessity of choosing language appropriate to the context in which one is talking or writing (pp. 54-55).

Such criticism as may be directed against the book stems mostly from the fact that modern developments in linguistics have apparently not been taken into account. There are still isolated evidences of pre-scientific terminology and thinking with regard to language, as when the authors ascribe linguistic changes to "corruption" (pp. 188, 238), and when they discuss language in terms of letters rather than of sounds (pp. 36, 60, 68, etc.). Some details of linguistic history are

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open to question. We are not sure that the speakers of Proto-Indo-European lived on the shores of the Black and Caspian seas (p. 4). Italian *fante* "foot-soldier" (p. 120) is indeed homonymous with (in)*fante* "child, boy" < Lat. *infantem*, with which it blended in the formation of (in)*fanteria* > *infantry*, but it is widely considered that *fante* "foot-soldier" represents a borrowing from a Gothic form **fanþja*, related to English *foot*. Mediaeval Latin *parlāre* "speak" represents, not a direct development of Late Latin *parabolāre* (p. 230), but a Latinization of a Romance (French or Italian) form. The only serious error your reviewer has noticed in the discussion of Latin or Greek linguistic structure is the omission of all overt reference to *iota* subscript and hence to the existence of diphthongs consisting of long vowel + *i* (should be on p. 180). Very rightly, forms containing *iota* subscript are transliterated with long vowel letter and *i*, e.g. *ῥοδῆ ῥοδῆ*; dull students will probably not be troubled by this discrepancy, but the perceptive reader will wonder where the *iota* subscript has come from and what it means. Even non-conservatives are likely to be taken somewhat aback by the "General Vocabulary" of the Greek part (pp. 247-260), in which the alphabetical order followed is that of English, not of Greek. Undoubtedly, this will simplify matters at the start, but how is the student to learn the order of the Greek alphabet well except by constant use—and how, if he remains all-but-ignorant of it, is he to grasp the force of even such traditional formulas as the Biblical "I am Alpha and Omega"?

These are all relatively minor points, however, and can easily be corrected in a third edition, especially with the help of the viewpoint and approach to linguistic matters contained in such modern manuals as, say, Leonard Bloomfield's *Language* (New York, 1933). Let us hope that the revised Burriss and Casson is as successful as it deserves to be, so that the hoped-for third edition will not be long in coming.

ROBERT A. HALL, JR.

Cornell University

WE SEE BY THE PAPERS

(Concluded from Page 85)

And while "Topics of The Times" in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* should not be called a book review section, its author reports in *extenso* (August 6) Toynbee's idea that modern "Moscow's belief in Russian infallibility is a legacy from the old Eastern Roman Empire."

LATIN AND THE NEW YORKER

LATIN CONTINUES to show up (as Col. Brady points out) in the pages of *THE NEW YORKER*. A good legal tag appeared (July 8) in an advertisement for a well known hotel (at which two lawyers conspire to live high *ad finem litis*). And a rather charming translation, by Rolfe Humphries, came (July 29) from Ausonius (*Mosella* 192-195).

ART NOTE

THE NEW YORK TIMES reported (July 9) the publication of the Metropolitan Museum's bulletin recapitulating the growth of the museum collections during the past decade. The items listed by *THE TIMES* for the Classical galleries are the Hellenistic "Sleeping Eros," a figure of a woman from a fifth century B.C. grave stela, and a bronze statuette, from Lord Elgin's collection, of "Athena Flying Her Owl." A photograph of the last work accompanied the story.

ARISTEAS

(Concluded from Page 83)

NOTES

⁴⁶ Schmidt and Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* (Müller's Handbuch), 1. 1. 303, note 2; How and Wells, *op. cit.*, 307, note.

⁴⁷ *Orationes ad Graecos*, 41, p. 275A.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, 20, note 17.

⁴⁹ 4. 13.

⁵⁰ *Attica*, 1. 24. 6.

⁵¹ 1. 10 (A40) (C21).

⁵² *Historia Naturalis*, 7. 10.

⁵³ 10. 4. Translation of W. H. Fyfe (New York, 1927).

⁵⁴ 7. 689 ff., quoted from Stein, *op. cit.*, 18, note 3 f.

⁵⁵ Quoted by W. Beloe, *Herodotus Translated from the Greek* (London, 1821), 2. 364, note 17.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Prometheus*, 803 ff.

⁵⁷ E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman* (Leipzig, 1914), 187, note 2.

⁵⁸ 23.

⁵⁹ *Noctes Atticae*, 9. 4. 3.

⁶⁰ How and Wells, *op. cit.*, 307, note.

⁶¹ 3. 102.

⁶² How and Wells, *op. cit.*, 306, note 13.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, 303.

MEDICINE

(Concluded from Page 87)

Whom some dare to treat with contempt and much scorn;
 But these (sic) kind of fellows know not what they
 say,
 And are all of them rul'd by the mode of the day

* * * *

Well, how do these doctors their knowledge obtain,
 To heal both the sick, the blind and insane?
 This question, alas! I cannot explain,
 While my cheek glows with blushes, and my heart beats
 with pain,
 That so noble a science should be so disgrac'd,
 And the title of DOCTOR so often misplac'd.

That voice howling in the 1809 wilderness
 has a curiously modern ring!

EDWARD C. ECHOLS

University of Alabama

NOTES

¹ L. R. Lind, "The Classics and the Medical Schools,
 CJ, 45 (1949) 115-119.

² John Wharton, *The Virginia Wreath* (Winchester,
 Va., J. Foster, 1814) 64-68.

³ All italics are Dr. Wharton's.

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AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

School of Classical Studies

Summer Session, July—August 1951

The 1951 Summer Session of the School of Classical Studies will be held in Rome under the direction of Professor Henry T. Rowell of The Johns Hopkins University. It will run six weeks from July 5th to August 16th.

Conditions for the study of classical antiquity in and about Rome were never more favorable. Apart from the fact that many improvements have been made since the war in the preservation and display of the pre-war archaeological material, opportunity is now given to visit such important new excavations as those under St. Peter's and in ancient Ostia. The Academy's fine collection of books on all aspects of classical antiquity is available to all students, and the cultural activities of the city as a whole (concerts, opera, art exhibitions, etc.) are flourishing. Suitable accommodations and board in Rome for the duration of the Session may be obtained through the Academy.

The course will be devoted to Roman civilization as exemplified in its surviving material remains in and around Rome and as portrayed in its literature. Emphasis will be placed on study of the monuments *in situ* and the objects preserved in museums. But they will be constantly connected in the instruction with Rome's literary tradition and especially with the great authors of the late Republic and the Augustan Age: Cicero, Virgil, Horace and Livy. Lectures on other aspects of Roman culture will also be given in order to present a reasonably complete picture of the development of Roman civilization from the origins to Constantine. Excursions will be made to Monte Albano, Horace's Sabine Farm, Ostia, and an Etruscan site.

Enrollment will be limited to twenty-two students. Applications for admission must be received by the Academy's New York office not later than March 1, 1951. Basic expenses including tuition, accommodations, board, and cabin class transportation from New York and return may be estimated at \$1,000. As in the past, holders of scholarships from regional classical associations will have the tuition fee of \$100 remitted.

Requests for details should be addressed to:

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